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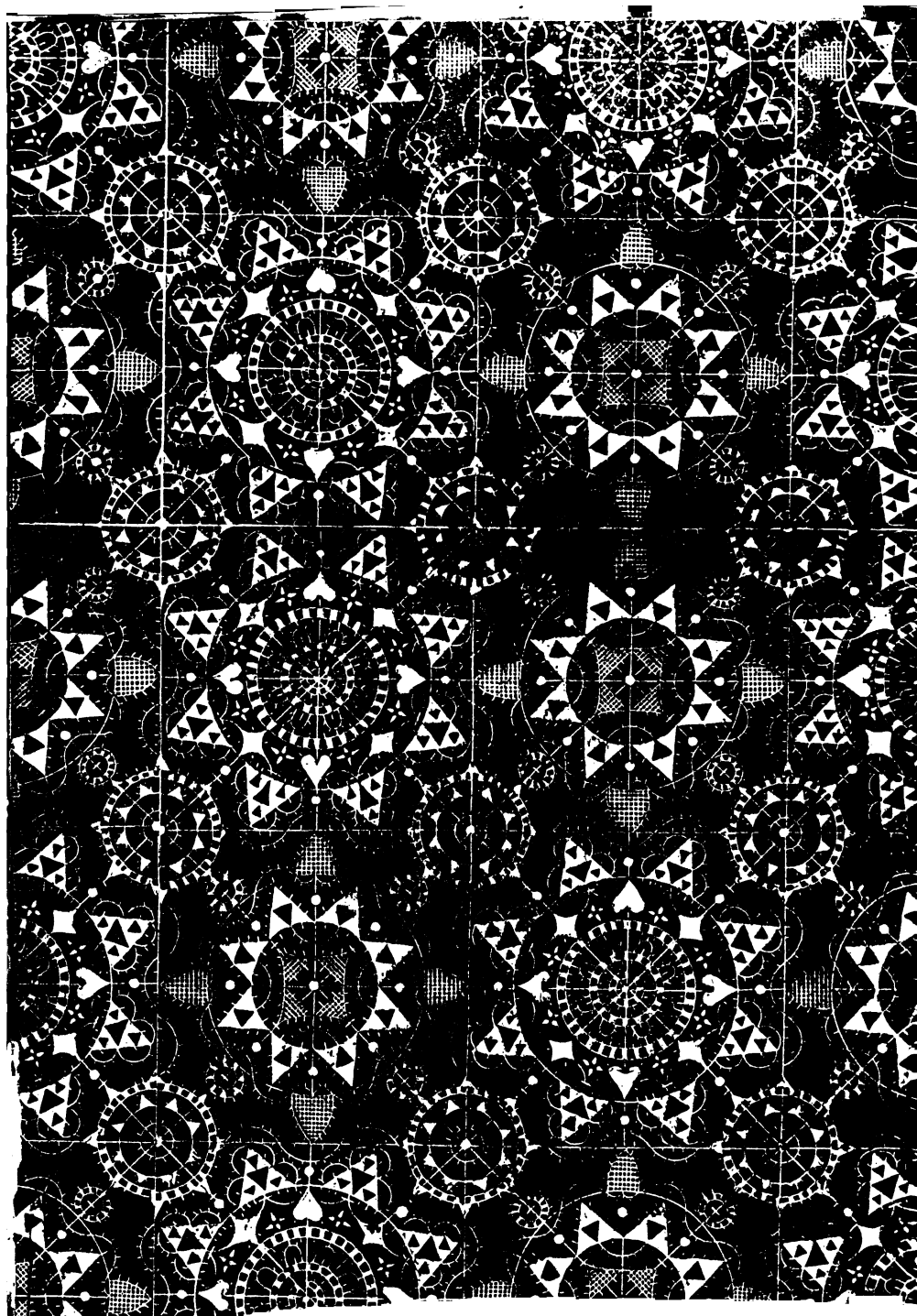
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BY

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HERTFORD COLLEGE, OXFORD



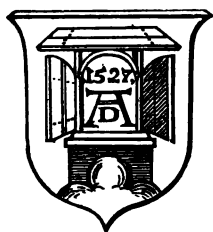
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P R E F A C E.

THE work of Albrecht Dürer stands alone at least in one particular,—that, while it has challenged the admiration, it has baffled the curiosity, of centuries, and still excites speculation. In mysterious conception we look for the special characteristic of his art; and as to execution, the hand of man could do no more. One to whom the world listens—the great Goethe—has said: ‘I honour daily more and more the work of a man which cannot be valued in gold and silver; of one who, when we know him thoroughly, has only the first Italians as his compeers in truth, sublimity, and even grace; but we will not say this aloud.’ Even if this sentiment be not universally received, yet no one will deny to Dürer the merit of the new revelation which he gave to the world.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate in a Preface the reflections which occur in this brief record of ‘one of the simple great ones, gone for ever and ever by.’

The matter of the following pages has been chiefly obtained from a careful comparison of Mrs. Charles Heaton’s second edition of her invaluable and interesting *Life of Albrecht Dürer* with Professor Thausing’s elaborate and exhaustive work, *Dürer, Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst*. I have exercised my own judgment on matters where their conclusions differ, without entering at large into any of the numerous discussions, for which no doubt there is ample scope. I have not found any information elsewhere which was not to be obtained in these two biographies. The author of each has sketched the grand figure of Albrecht Dürer with a loving and reverent hand, and exhibited a spirit capable of receiving the greatness of the truth which he taught by his work and in his life.

R. F. H.

BISHOPSWOOD VICARAGE,
July, 1881.



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ALBRECHT DÜRER.

CHAPTER I.

ART IN MIDDLE AGES IN GERMANY—NÜRNBERG, ITS TRADE AND GOVERNMENT — ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE — ALBRECHT DÜRER THE ELDER ARRIVES IN NÜRNBERG—HIS MARRIAGE—FAMILY — BIRTH OF ALBRECHT — CHARACTER OF THE ELDER DÜRER—HIS PORTRAITS — DEATH — ALBRECHT TAKES CHARGE OF HIS MOTHER—HER CHARACTER, DEATH AND PORTRAIT.

THE Germany of the Middle Ages would seem to have been no home for Art. Where nature was so unpropitious, and society so barbarous, the marvel is that it found a life at all. Yet without the advantages which existed south of the Alps, without ancestry, without traditions, without nurture—it sprung up hardy and strong, though having an individuality which was not attractive, responsible alike for its own merits and defects. Nor were the political conditions of the country favourable to its growth. Nation there was none. The strongholds of the petty princes, who divided the country and preyed upon each other in utter contempt of law and right, were no nurseries of Art. The free imperial cities of Nürnberg and Augsburg were almost the only homes of liberty ; and it is no

wonder, therefore, that they produced the only two men who ever rose to the highest position as artists—Dürer and Holbein.

With the former city and her renowned son it is that we have to do, the Nürnberg whose "hand is in every land"; whose workmen in the fifteenth century had the souls of artists and hands which obeyed their feelings; whose work went to the ends of the world. The quaint old city, with its narrow streets, its gabled roofs, its massive fortifications and noble churches, stands much as it did in those days, though the foot of the destroyer is hard upon it now, and the light of the Middle Ages, which has been kept burning there so long, as over a sacred shrine, is dying out. Once the centre of manufactures, which were an expression of thoughtful and lofty minds, her importance and prosperity are now things of the past.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century she obtained from the Emperor Frederick special rights and privileges, "in consideration," as he says in his great charter, "that she has no vineyards or navigation, and lies upon very ungenial soil."

Great mechanical activity and improvement in all kinds of machinery was exhibited in Nürnberg early in the fifteenth century. She could boast of the first German paper-mill, and of Antonius Koburger's celebrated printing-press. In every branch of industry there were men of skill and renown—watch and clock-makers, braziers, organ-makers; but the most celebrated throughout Europe were the workers in gold who abounded in the city. Their designs were in themselves works of art, and they engraved them only on the true metal, the laws of their guild forbidding the employment of anything spurious. The rich burghers were proud of exhibiting their wealth in the jewels with which they decked their wives and daughters, and most of their household utensils were of gold and silver. It was said of Nürnberg, that she had the reputation of governing herself better than any other town in Germany, on which account she was called by many the Venice of Germany. At

the head of the Republic were three elected chiefs, who had similar authority to that of the Venetian doges. They were members of patrician families; but as the Rath numbered among its forty-two members some of the principal burghers and eight artisans, representatives of the principal guilds in the city, the prevailing aristocratic element was modified. The Rath watched over the interests and welfare of its children, and everything was done to sustain the reality of the wealth and intelligence of the people which made Nürnberg what she was. Her merchants were nobles, who extended their commercial influence to every country, and were the centre of the life at home. The great house of Pirkheimer, of one member of which we shall hear much, was the soul not only of the great city interests, but also of its culture. The spirit of progress which characterized the fifteenth century found in such a city a congenial atmosphere. Then arose the longing for the beautiful. The individual character of the Teutonic mind had revealed itself in Gothic architecture, which was the mother of sculpture and the kindred arts. In Nürnberg was the church of S. Lawrence, rich in decoration, and famed for Adam Krafft's *Sacraments-Häuslein*. There were the statues above the porch of the Frauenkirche, the celebrated Brautthür of S. Sebald's; and the *Schöne Brunnen*, erected by Meister Heinrich der Balier in 1385—96, with its twenty-four statues by another artist, rising gracefully in the market-place.¹ There was, moreover, the *Shrine of S. Sebald*, the master-piece of Peter Vischer, the great worker in bronze, picturing the miracles of the saint, abounding in forms of every description from the realms of nature or of fancy, but specially famed for the figures of the Apostles.

¹ The statues above the porch of the Frauenkirche, the 'Bride's Door' of S. Sebald and the figures of Electors and Heroes on the *Schöne Brunnen*, have all, until recently, been ascribed to one Sebald Schonhofer. Modern research has, however, thrown great doubts on their authorship, and even on the very existence of Schonhofer.

Furthermore, Veit Stoss enriched his native city with his wonderful wood-carvings, which abound both in the churches and in private houses. The *Great Crucifix* in S. Sebald's, and the *Salutation of the Angel* in S. Lawrence's, are his. These and numberless other minor evidences help us to understand something of the conditions under which Dürer's mind and tastes developed.

Into this Nürnberg there came upon his wanderings, on the 11th of March, 1455, a young goldsmith. He was twenty-eight years of age, and bore the name of Albrecht Dürer. His home lay far away in Hungary at a village called Eytas, a German settlement. He came of a race of herdsmen; but his father was a goldsmith, and this the eldest son was following the same calling, which brought him on this day to Nürnberg, after living for a long time among the great Netherland artists. It was a festal day. There was a great dance under the old Linden-tree, which still stands in the court of the Reichsveste, for young Philipp Pirkheimer was celebrating his wedding-feast. Albrecht took it for a good omen. There, amidst so gorgeous a display of gold and silver, seemed a home for his craft. Yet he could not dream that in after days his name would be associated for ever with that of the bridegroom; nor could the bridal guests or lookers-on see in that unknown idler anything which foreshadowed glory to their native town.

He found employment with Hieronymus Holper, a master goldsmith of repute; and after serving him for twelve years, married his daughter Barbara, a beautiful and virtuous maiden of fifteen. At the same time Dürer the Elder, as he is called, became a sworn member of the Goldsmiths' Guild as "Albrecht, Holper's son-in-law," and was made a burgher. The next year he became a master goldsmith, and then for the first time was known by his own name.

He took up his abode in a house in the Winkler Strasse, called

the Pirkheimer Hinterhaus, a sort of appendage to the family mansion. Again fate at a critical moment brought the names of Dürer and Pirkheimer together.

On the 5th of December, 1470, the only and longed-for son was born to the Pirkheimers; and on the 21st May, 1471, the third child, and second son, of the goldsmith Dürer saw the light.

Antonius Koburger was his godfather, and gave him the name of Albrecht. Notwithstanding the difference in rank of the two children living under the same roof, no doubt they played together, and then was forged the first link of that chain which for ever united so closely the two greatest men of Nürnberg—the artist and the scholar. No doubt the soul of the child Albrecht received in those very early days an elevating influence in the house of Pirkheimer, though he was but five years old when his father removed from the Hinterhaus.

Holper's death seems to have improved the position of his son-in-law, and enabled him to buy a house for himself. It was Peter Krafft's, No. 493, unter der Vesten, the corner house of the street. The surroundings of the new house were not without an influence upon the future artist. It was in the neighbourhood of Wolgemut, Schedel, Koburger, and Sebald Frey, the uncle of his future wife.

Albrecht the Elder constantly improved his position by his own merits, but his means were barely sufficient to provide his numerous family with necessaries. Frau Barbara presented him with a stately roll of eighteen children, of whose births, even to the hour and respective sponsors, he made careful note. Most of them died young; still we may readily imagine that the father's life was no easy one. Little is known of him as an artist, or of the work done in his shop near the Rathhaus, but his excellent son says of him: "He had a great reputation with many who knew him, for he led an honourable Christian life, was a patient man, gentle, in peace with every one, and always thankful to God. He had no desire for many worldly pleasures,

was of few words, did not go into society, and was a God-fearing man. This my dear father was most anxious to bring up his children to honour God. His highest wish was that his children should be pleasing to God and man; therefore he used to tell us every day that we should love God and be true to our neighbours."

As well as describing his father in such words, he has given us two paintings of him. The first was done at the end of his apprenticeship, before his Wanderschaft, as if he wanted to repay the old man for his education. The picture is in the Uffizi. He wears a black cap and brown overcoat. The face and the hands, which hold a wreath of red roses, are wonderfully life-like; the expression is earnest and calm, the mouth wonderfully firm; the eyes look out clearly from a face of decided character. At the back of the picture is a sketch of the Dürer arms—a closed helmet, a bust of a Moor wearing a pointed red cap and a red jacket slashed with gold, between two golden wings at the top of two shields. One of these shows an open golden door on a red ground, the other a white ram on an azure field. The former is known to be the arms of Dürer, or Thürer. The quarterings can only be those of Dürer's mother, and are doubtless those of the Holper family.

The other well-known likeness of his father was painted soon after he got home, as if he wanted to give the old man an account of what he had gained from his Wanderschaft. It is in the Sion House collection, inscribed "1497. ALBRECHT THURER DER ELTER UND ALT 70 JOR." It was engraved by Hollar in 1644, when in the Arundel collection.

During the four years in which he had not seen his son, the face of the father had changed much. It may have been that this separation from his favourite, and the strain upon his vital powers, brought the change the sooner. Before Dürer's return the upright Meister had become a bent, silent old man. Well for him was it that a grateful son could now step in and help him

to bear the remainder of the burden of life; and this Dürer did nobly.

We are indebted for all we know of the elder Dürer to his renowned son, whose simple jottings do more to honour the father than the most finished panegyric. We trace his own first steps, and get a deep look into the smooth inner life of a German household regulated by industry, habit, and the fear of God. There are to be found the secret springs of Dürer's power to express in visible form the longings of a period marked by struggles for inward freedom. This is why the works of that time always captivate us, and why the simple words in which Dürer relates the death of his father charm us. It is because we become conscious of that deep harmony which exists between ingenuous spirits. It springs up at first unobserved, and only when separated one from the other does that good which each receives come to the surface.

Five years after Dürer completed the last likeness the father succumbed, not to the weakness of age, but to an attack of dysentery, "and when he saw death before his eyes, he submitted willingly with patience." He died just after midnight, on the 20th of Sept., 1502. Dürer relates how they ran to his room to awake him, "and before I came down he had gone, and I am dead with grief that I was not worthy to be present at his end." On his death-bed he commended the mother to his son, "whom he had always praised to me, for she was a right pious woman; therefore I mean never to forsake her."

Faithful to this intention, two years after his father's death he took entire charge of his mother. He describes the old woman—how often she went to church, how she corrected him when he did wrong, and how constant was her anxiety about the salvation of the souls of his brothers and himself. He cannot praise enough her goodness to every one, her gentleness under the trials of life, and her good repute. Therefore he cared for his old mother with affecting attention. During his

prolonged residence in Venice in 1506, he was always thoughtful for her needs, begging Pirkheimer to tell her to write to him, and "that she must give herself every indulgence." He warns the youngest brother Hans that he must not be a burden to her.

At length, after she had lain ill at his house for quite a year, she felt her last hour approaching. On the 17th of May, 1514, she gave Dürer her blessing, received the farewell cup, and died.

During her illness, and two months before her death, Dürer portrayed his mother in a large chalk drawing on the 19th March, 1514. The sharp, narrow head of the old woman, with marked, open features, and a marvellously expressive look, have something attractive in them. The drawing was in the collection of Ambroise Firmin Didot of Paris. From Dürer's description of her by pen and pencil, she must have exercised a considerable influence upon his character, his fancy, and his soul-life. Of other portraits of the father, as well as the mother, which were once in Nürnberg, no trace exists.





CHAPTER II.

ALBRECHT'S BROTHERS—SCHOOL DAYS—IN HIS FATHER'S WORK-SHOP—EARLY DRAWINGS—APPRENTICESHIP TO WOLGEMUT—PORTRAIT FROM MIRROR—MADONNA—MICHEL WOLGEMUT—ART-FACTORY—WOOD-ENGRAVING—THE MONOGRAM W—COPPER-ENGRAVING—PORTRAIT—DEATH—DÜRER'S WANDERSCHAFT—VISIT TO VENICE IN 1494—SKETCHES—LANDSCAPE-PAINTING.

IT is uncertain how many and which of the eighteen children grew up in the house with Albrecht. In 1524, when he compiled his family narrative, only two were living, Andreas, the goldsmith, and the youngest, Hans, a painter and pupil of Dürer. He probably spoilt this pet of the family, who appears to have done no good in his brother's absence in 1506. We find him beseeching Pirkheimer to look after the boy and talk to him, and keep him straight till he came back. In 1509 Dürer is advising his mother to get work for Hans, and says, "I would gladly have taken him with me to Venice, which would have been an advantage to him and to me as well; but the mother was afraid the sky would fall upon him." Hans was afterwards court-painter to the king of Poland.

Andreas, the goldsmith, was made Meister in Nürnberg in 1514. Albrecht, to celebrate the event, drew his portrait on white paper. It is in the Albertina collection at Vienna, engraved by Bartsch in 1785, and later lithographed by Pilizotti. Albrecht paid him his share of the value of the family house in 1518.

At Albrecht's death he appears again to have got possession of the house, which he sold twenty years after to an apothecary, Quintin Werthaimer. Andreas continued to follow his profession. He had only one daughter, who married a goldsmith. In spite of Albrecht's fortune, the last branch of the family appears to have been in needy circumstances. On this account perhaps Andreas left Nürnberg to follow his brother Hans, and settled down in Cracow without permission from the Town Council. In 1534 he was ordered to return, which he did. Four years later the Council gave him letters of recommendation to Sigismund, king of Poland, because there were outstanding debts to collect. It may be presumed, therefore, that Hans was dead, otherwise Andreas would have had no claims in Poland. From that time all trace of the Dürer family is lost.

We have touched upon Albrecht's family first, so as to follow his individual life without interruption.

There is no proof that the two elder children survived their childhood. Thus the father's hopes were centred in his third child. He delighted in him, too, because he tried to learn, and he gave him the best education that he could, imperfect as it must have been. Printed books were expensive in the fifteenth century, and Albrecht had to learn his lessons from a black board. But free Latin schools were established in many towns, and the desire for knowledge was great. Albrecht at least learned to read and write well, and his letters show that he was taught Latin.

It is natural that the father should have destined him for his own trade. He was taken from school to the workshop, but there is no record of his work at this time. It is said, however, that he executed the *Seven Falls of Christ* in silver. It must not be imagined that he learned more than the rudiments of engraving with his father. His first drawing attempts were in no way the result of his hours of toil in the goldsmith's shop under his father's direction; on the contrary, they appear much

more like work that was surreptitiously done, as indeed it was. In the British Museum is a sketch of a woman standing, a falcon on her hand, and an odd Burgundian cap on her head. Upon the paper is an inscription, evidently by a playfellow, "Albrecht Dürer did it for me before he went to Wolgemut's as a painter, in the back-house, on the top floor, in the presence of Conrat Lomayer, now dead." In his free hours, too, he abandoned the Gothic designs for those little figures which he drew, to the delight of his comrades, in the nooks and corners of his father's house, or of those of his friends, till it was forced upon him that he was destined for something more than a goldsmith. "And now that I could work neatly my inclination was more for painting than goldsmith's work. I told my father so; but he was not pleased, for he regretted the time lost in learning the goldsmith's work." However, he yielded, and apprenticed him in 1486 to Wolgemut for three years. Fortunately there are other drawings of Dürer's during his apprenticeship to his father, which show that the time was not lost, as the good old man supposed. His earliest work (now in the Albertina Collection in Vienna) is the *Portrait of Himself*, with an inscription added later by his own hand, "This I copied, out of a looking-glass, of myself, in 1484, whilst still a child. *Albrecht Dürer*." This half-length is done with surprising freedom. It is the face of a sensible, lovable child, in which it is easy to see the grand man of the future picture. The long hair is cut short over the brow, according to the fashion of the time. Despite its boyish imperfections, one seems to see through the large soft eyes the dawn of a childish melancholy of soul. The point of the cap is held by three buttons, and on the other side hangs down in a long fringe, which seems to be adorned with gay feathers. He wears an open jacket, which he holds together with his left hand, whilst the thumb and finger of the other hand point constrainedly to the right.

Interesting as this first picture is, there is another of the

following year, 1485, which marks still more distinctly the precocity of the artist. It is a *Madonna* under a canopy, with an angel on either side. The Virgin has a long head and high forehead, and wears a huge crown, in the style of the Cologne pictures of this date. She looks calmly upon the infant, who stands upon her knee and embraces her. It bears traces of an old style in unmixed purity and grace, which is never seen in his later works. In fact, the contrast is so great that no one would believe it to be original if it did not bear quite plainly his oldest mark A. and D. together, and the date 1485. This confident handling of the pencil by a boy of fourteen is inexplicable. These drawings show a conscious effort and artistic comprehension which he never learnt in the goldsmith's trade. They bear the character not only of the art of that period, and of Nürnberg especially, but the influence of a school of painting which was none other than that of Michel Wolgemut. From the inscription upon Dürer's portrait of his master in the Pinakothek at Munich, we find that Michel was born in 1434. He seems to have remained in the Rhine districts after his apprenticeship, and to have transplanted the Van Eyck influence to Nürnberg. In the year in which Martin Schongauer of Colmar completed his *Madonna in the Rosebush*, Wolgemut first appears in the roll of Nürnberg citizens. He had married Barbara the widow of Hans Pleydenwurff, carried on his business, and had to maintain his step-children. The stern necessities of existence no doubt made him appear less in the character of an artist than as the master of an art factory; still as a painter, the Peringsdörffer altar-piece in the chapel of S. Maurice¹ and many other works testify to his skill. He seems to have struck out the path in which Dürer achieved a reputation for himself as well as for his master. Least of all can this be disputed in the matter of those great publications by which Wolgemut became the founder of the Nürnberg school of wood-engraving. For him,

¹ Now used as a picture gallery.

moreover, and for his studio must be claimed the greater number of the old copper-plates with the monogram W., which have been so often ascribed to Wenzel. Even in these, however, the difference of treatment and the inequality in single plates suggest the idea of helping hands, and no doubt he had a large number of apprentices and assistants; but his was the master spirit, and it was to Wolgemut that Nürnberg was indebted for the introduction of the art of engraving on copper.

The best proof of the honour which Dürer paid to his teacher is furnished by the excellent likeness he has left of him. The inscription on the picture says, that "Michel Wolgemut died November 30th, 1519, before sunrise"—exactly thirty years after Dürer's apprenticeship was completed. It was painted from the drawing, now in the Albertina Collection, which was done in or about 1516.

Dürer passes over the time of his apprenticeship with the remark, that God gave him industry, and that he learned well, but that he had much to suffer from his fellow-apprentices. This is all he says. Just as briefly too he passes over the years of his wanderschaft. "When I had served my time my father sent me away. I was away four years until he called me back. I went away in 1490 after Easter, and came back again after Whitsuntide in 1494, which in this year was the 18th of May." Whither he first wandered, and where he spent those four years, can only be surmised from scattered traditions and from his youthful works. Much may be gathered from the sketch-maps which he brought from his travels. He seems to be endeavouring to shake off the traditions of the Wolgemut school, and to retain principally a feeling for the charms of landscape, the treatment of which he henceforth improved from the teaching of nature only.

Christoph Scheurl, a neighbour of Wolgemut, says, that Dürer wandered through Germany and came to Colmar in 1492. He was kindly received by Martin Schongauer's brothers; but the

master, whom he would have been delighted to see, and whose influence he had largely imbibed during the time of his apprenticeship, had been dead four years.

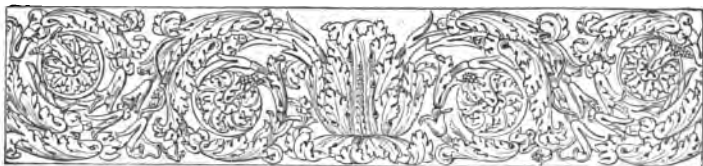
According to the old trade custom, Dürer strayed from town to town, lingering a longer or shorter time in a place as fancy directed, working in this or that studio. Though we cannot find him in 1493, we have two works of his of this date. One is a miniature in tempera on parchment of the child *Jesus*; the other the large *Portrait of Himself*, also on parchment. Nürnberg was intimately connected by commerce with the city of the Lagoons, and was familiar with her history. Nürnberg merchants passed to and from her, and were well known in her factories, and Dürer must have longed to see her; but beyond what he himself says in his sketches and letters, we do not know for certain that he was really in Venice in 1494, though we venture to think that there is ground for assuming that he was. It is an important fact in his development.

In 1506, February 7th, writing from Venice, he seems to refer to a previous residence there. The manner in which he first mentions Giovanni Bellini denotes that he first knew or learned to value him there; for he writes further, "He is very old, and still the best painter," and "that thing," meaning work, "which eleven years ago pleased me well now pleases me no more, and if I had not seen it myself I would not have believed it."

Now this alteration in judgment which he finds upon the evidence of his own senses took place in the eleven years, which would be from 1494 to 1505, when he was again in Venice. The same Christoph Scheurl of whom we have spoken seems to have known of this residence of Dürer in Venice, for he writes in 1506, "*Qui quum nuper in Italiam redisset tum consalutatus est alter Apelles*" ("and when recently he came back into Italy then he was generally received as a second Apelles").

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We do not know under what influence the young German apprentice found himself; probably it was under that of the school to which Jacopo de' Barbari belonged, whose relations with Nürnberg, as we shall find hereafter, were very intimate. From this first residence in Venice comes a miniature of a Lion with the A and D mark, 1494, in the Harz collection at Hamburg; it is the earliest copy of a lion from nature by the hand of a northern artist. Dürer's special study at this time was landscape. A number of such studies, views of castles and towns, belong to a journey through the Tyrol into Italy in 1493-4. The view of *Innsprug* in the Albertina, that of *Trient* at Bremen,—that also of *Trient* in the possession of Mr. Malcolm in London,—the *Fenedier klawsen* in the Louvre, the *Welsch schloss* in the Hausmann collection, and other sketches, most of which are marked by Dürer himself, belong to this series. He knew that he could only learn the mysteries of Nature from Nature herself, and accordingly devoted himself to the study with an energy which is remarkable, considering that he had to look for profit from his work; and yet there was none to be obtained from the sale of landscape-painting. A century before him the Van Eycks had begun to borrow the backgrounds of their pictures from nature; but Dürer went further, and copied the details in a way which entitles him to be considered the founder of independent modern landscape-painting. The more, however, he developed a taste for figure-drawing the less importance he seems to have attached to landscape; not that he was indifferent to its charms, for in the Netherlands journey of 1520 he found the town of Middelburg "delightful to sketch."



CHAPTER III.

DÜRER'S PORTRAIT, 1493—RETURN TO NÜRNBERG—MARRIAGE—
FREY FAMILY—PORTRAITS OF HIS WIFE—FABLES ABOUT UN-
HAPPINESS AND POVERTY—THE TSCHERTE LETTER—DÜRER'S
WORKSHOP—DRESDEN ALTAR-PIECE—S. VITUS ALTAR-PIECE—
BAUMGÄRTNER ALTAR-PIECE—IMHOF COLLECTION—MONOGRAM
—HERCULES FIGHTING WITH THE STYMPHALIAN BIRDS.

DÜRER'S portrait of himself in 1493 gives us an idea of his appearance during his wanderschaft. Goethe, who saw it, describes it as invaluable. It is the picture of a gaily-dressed youth, half life-size. He wears a purple cap, an embroidered shirt, the folds of which are tied with peach-coloured ribbons, a loose blue-grey cloak with yellow strings, and carries in his hand a blue flower called "Man's Fidelity." The youth is handsome, with an earnest look, and wears the signs of manhood on his lip and chin. "The whole," Goethe continues, "is admirably drawn and worthy of Dürer."

The picture, damaged even at that time, has been transferred to canvas and restored. Only the lower part, with the hands, show the original painting. It is the boy of 1484 over again, but more mature. In none of his other portraits is he so carefully dressed, like a young man of fashion, not a wandering apprentice. Was the likeness done in Venice? Why was it done at all? By his father's commands he returned at the end

of May, 1494; and "when I had returned," he says, "Hans Frey was in treaty with my father, and gave me his daughter Agnes and 200 gulden with her, and celebrated the wedding, which took place on July 14, 1494." Matter-of-fact as such arrangements were in those days, yet the few weeks between Albrecht's return and his marriage could scarcely have been enough for the arrangement between the fathers. Rather more probably the elder Dürer was endeavouring to promote his son's interests, and that the portrait was sent to please the bride and satisfy the father.

The connection with the Freys was advantageous to the Dürer family. Hans Frey was a man of consideration and property in and out of the town, and kept a good house by the Wöhrder Gate. He was not an ordinary man, but "expert in all things." He understood music, and had a taste for invention, but was neither a professed musician nor mechanist. He left at his death a considerable fortune. His wife, Agnes's mother, was descended from one of the principal Nürnberg families. Dürer was on excellent terms with them both, and no doubt was substantially assisted by them. He carefully and affectionately records the death of each.

We may assume then that Dürer made a capital match. The bride's personal advantages, moreover, corresponded with her position and property. The master has left us many proofs of this. There is a sketch in the Albertina Collection, another in the Kunsthalle at Bremen, the same girlish face and straight nose. In the portrait of 1500 she has developed into a handsome Hausfrau in a white cap and richly-trimmed dress. In 1504 again he portrays her in the bloom of her beauty. As we think of this woman by Albrecht's side, we must confess that a handsomer couple never passed through the Brautthüre of S. Sebald. Yet they were destined for a mark, for the jest or pity of a future generation, and their marriage a by-word for unhappiness—an unhappiness which, perhaps, existed only in the diseased

mind of his friend Pirkheimer, and finds its sole expression in a certain letter to Tscherte, the imperial architect in Vienna, a rough copy of which is in the Nürnberg Library. In connection with this idea too, and as to some extent the cause of it, there exists another, equally fabulous, as to Dürer's destitute condition. Let us see what we know about both of these affairs, so that we need not be constantly alluding to them. After the marriage he took her to his father's house, contrary to the Nürnberg custom. They were living there at least when his father died in 1502. He had supported the infirm old man, and now took upon himself the care of his mother and the younger children, no easy matter for the young master. He writes in 1506 from Venice: "For myself, I might not go to ruin; but to support a number is too hard for me, for no one throws money away." It is true that, from remarks in his letters to Pirkheimer, we might imagine that he left Venice almost empty-handed; but soon after he came back he was able to pay his debts, and redeem a mortgage on the old home. This place, moreover, did not long content him. In 1518 he became sole proprietor of two good houses in Nürnberg. So much for what he calls "sheer poverty." The best insight into his position, his character, and his relations with his wife, is no doubt obtained from his Netherlands diary. There is no trace of dissension between them. If there is any anxiety about money, it was with regard to the profitable investment of his savings. For this reason it was that he applied to the council of his native town to receive 1000 gulden, and give him interest. It was from this capital that his widow was able to found a theological scholarship at Wittemberg, for which Melancthon thanked God and lauded Agnes.

Again, as Dürer died without a will, and left no child, the widow had a right to everything. At her death one-fourth would go to his brothers. What did she do? She had everything valued, gave up the fourth part at once "of her own accord and good friendship, which she felt for them for her husband's sake, as being their

dear sister-in-law." After the valuation she parted with several useless things, and in doing so committed an error which has had a serious effect upon her memory. Among Dürer's collections were several pairs of antlers, one pair of special beauty. There was a great rage for these things in Nürnberg, and Pirkheimer seems to have caught the infection. There was nothing in Dürer's possession which he so coveted as this particular pair of horns. When therefore Dürer's widow disposed of them without letting him know, he must have written that famous letter to his friend Tscherte, the architect at Vienna. It was written a few weeks before his death. His health had been bad for ten years; and after Dürer's death he had withdrawn sulkily into seclusion.

This extraordinary letter had no other purpose than to avenge himself for the loss of these antlers. "Albrecht Dürer," he says, "had some horns, and amongst them a splendid pair, which I should have liked, but she (viz. the widow) has sold them for an old song." Hence the anger against poor Agnes which he pours forth. "She tormented him (Albrecht) that he died all the sooner, for he was dried up like a bundle of straw, and dared not go into society." Now we know from Melancthon that this was not true in 1520. If, later on, his wife kept him at home for his health's sake she only did her duty. But Pirkheimer maintains, that "she kept him hard at work day and night," only that he might have the more to leave her when he died; for she was always fancying that she would starve, "which she still does, though Albrecht has left her 6000 gulden."

What we know and shall see of Dürer's business during the later years of his life is quite inconsistent with Pirkheimer's statements. The fact is, that there could be little sympathy between the man of pleasure and the plain, perhaps somewhat narrow-minded, burgher wife, of whom he was obliged to confess that she was no knave, but a "pious and God-fearing woman."

The contents of the latter part of the letter weakens the force of his accusations against Agnes. The whole world had gone

wrong with him. The barbarous Turk, the disunited Christians, all the events of the time, especially those of Nürnberg, were depicted in the darkest colours. As to the prominent religious doctrines, "God preserve all lands" from them, says the man who was a chief promoter of the Reformation, and who, ten years before, was included with Spengler in the bull of excommunication against Luther. Now on the verge of the grave he gives up his faith and his friend: Spengler shares with Dürer's wife the fate of being slandered in this letter, and whatever value there is in such language as "he was a man whose deeds contradicted his words, and that his writings were published to suit both himself and the times, that he was once the good friend of Pirkheimer and Dürer, but had worn his friends out;" whatever value there is in the one-sided statements about the Reformation period, the same value is there in his remarks about Agnes; and this value can readily be estimated.

After Dürer's return home he at once set up a workshop in his father's house, where he lived for fifteen years with his young wife, eagerly devoting himself to work, amidst the cares of his little house, and bearing the additional family burdens to which we have alluded above. He seems to have followed Wolgemut's practice of giving sketches to his apprentices to fill up. Happily, however, there is one work entirely his own, a triptych—the *Dresden Altar-piece*. It came from All Saints in Wittenberg, and is mentioned by Scheurl, and was probably painted by order of Frederick the Wise of Saxony. It is in water-colour on fine linen, done in that rapid style which was natural not only to the German masters, but also to Mantegna and Veronese. On the central panel is a half-length Madonna. The figure is slight, the dress blue, with a white veil. The long face is turned adoringly towards the infant asleep upon a pillow watched by an angel. Over Mary's head two other angels hover,

bearing a crown. In the foreground two boy angels are busy cleaning the room. Behind, in another room, Joseph is at work. From the window is a view of a German yard, with trees and a waggon. It is a prelude to the description of the home-life of the Holy Family in the *Life of the Virgin*, by which Dürer made himself immortal. The one wing contains a life-size figure of S. Anthony the hermit, reading. The powerful head bent earnestly over the book, the strong knotty hands are very truthful. The by-work is carefully drawn—the crown of roses, and a scarce-noticed little monster by the side. On the other wing is the half-figure of a suppliant, supposed to be S. Sebastian.

The *S. Vitus altar-piece*, painted a few years later, bears the electoral arms of Saxony upon the wings. It was in the chapel of the Archbishop's palace at Vienna, now at Ober St. Veit, near that city. Probably this also came from Wittenberg. The original sketch is in the Museum at Basle, inscribed by his own hand, "Albertus Dürer, 1502." The Sebastian in the left wing is all his, but most of the work is by Schäufelein, who was a pupil of Wolgemut, and worked with Dürer till he went to Venice in 1505. He, more than any other, adopted Dürer's style, but there were two other men deserving notice, his associates in these early days, Kulmbach and Baldung, called Grien. The former worked for the master later on. With the latter Dürer was intimate. He carried some of his works, as well as Schäufelein's, to the Netherlands to sell. Baldung received a lock of Dürer's hair at his death, which the family still keep as a precious relic. These men seem to have been the centre of a group of painters whose works, the more or less finished school-pictures, are often confused, one with the other. They were productions of the early and obscurer school of painting and drawing in distinction from the later one of engraving. After the first painting studio was closed, Dürer did not open another on so large a scale. He abandoned the trade in votive pictures,

ambitious of larger paintings by his own hand, till he grew tired of painting altogether.

The most important production of the early Dürer school, however, is the *Baumgärtner Altar-piece*, now in the Pinakothek at Munich. The Nativity, with a landscape in the background containing the Annunciation to the shepherds, occupies the centre. In each wing is a knight with his steed, the one a likeness of his friend Stephan Baumgärtner,¹ for whom the altar was designed, the other that of his brother Lucas Baumgärtner.

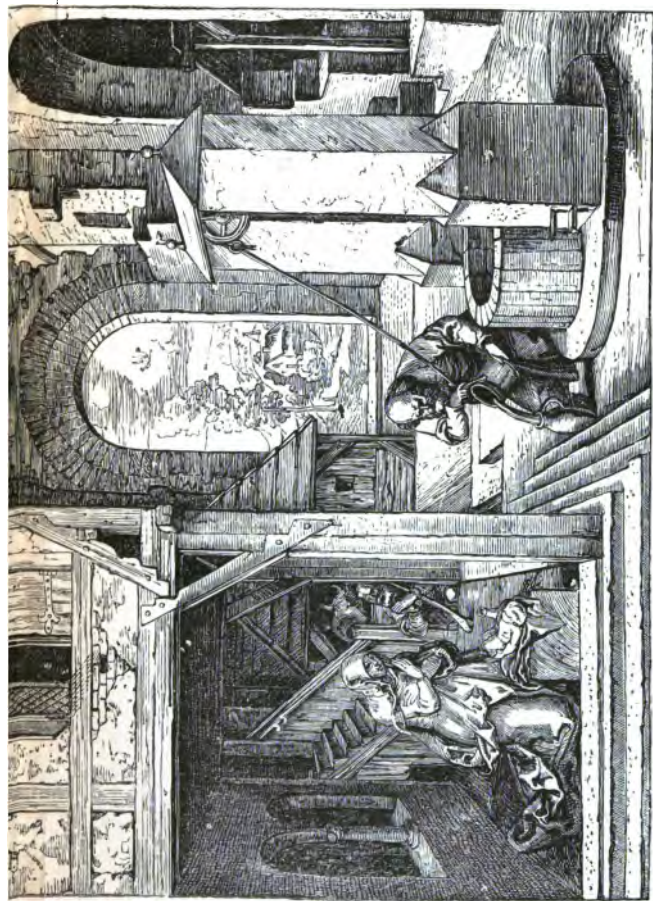
This picture marks the transition period between the school pictures and those larger ones of Dürer's own. Whatever his part in these may have been, there is no trace of the inspiration of the *Apocalypse* in them. We should get from them no idea of his style were there not some early pictures from his hand, which serve as an illustration of his axiom, that "the use of the art of painting is in the service of the Church to exhibit the sorrows of Christ, and also to preserve the likeness of men after their death."

Wilibald Imhof—the grandson of Pirkheimer, and brother to Hieronymus, Dürer's godchild, who died in 1580—collected a number of Dürer's drawings and paintings, together with many spurious copies. These increased in number under his successors, who traded upon Dürer's name. No other master, not even Raphael, has been such a source of profit as Dürer. Hieronymus tells us, in the 'Geheimbuch,' which belongs to the Nürnberg Library, how the trade was carried on. For example, "A picture of the Virgin on wood, oil, small:" "my deceased father had Albrecht Dürer's mark painted under it, but it is not certain that he painted it." So grave were the doubts about the genuineness of the works in the Imhof collection, that when it was sent for the inspection of the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria, who was a great admirer of the master, he would acknowledge none of them, but sent them all back without an order for even one. Two

¹ Sometimes written Paumgartner.

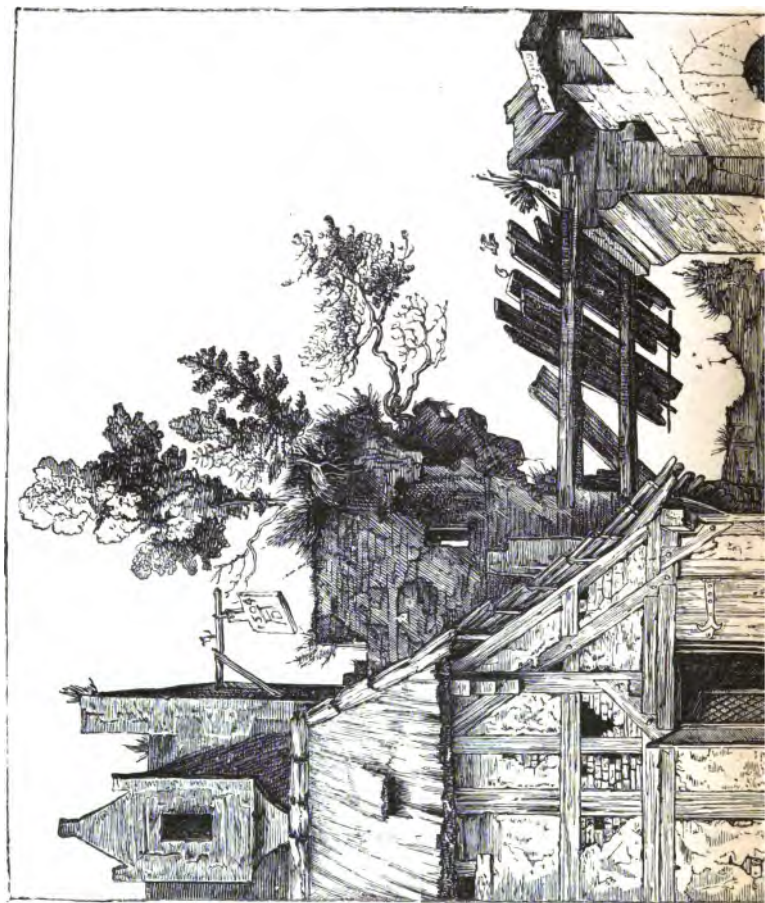


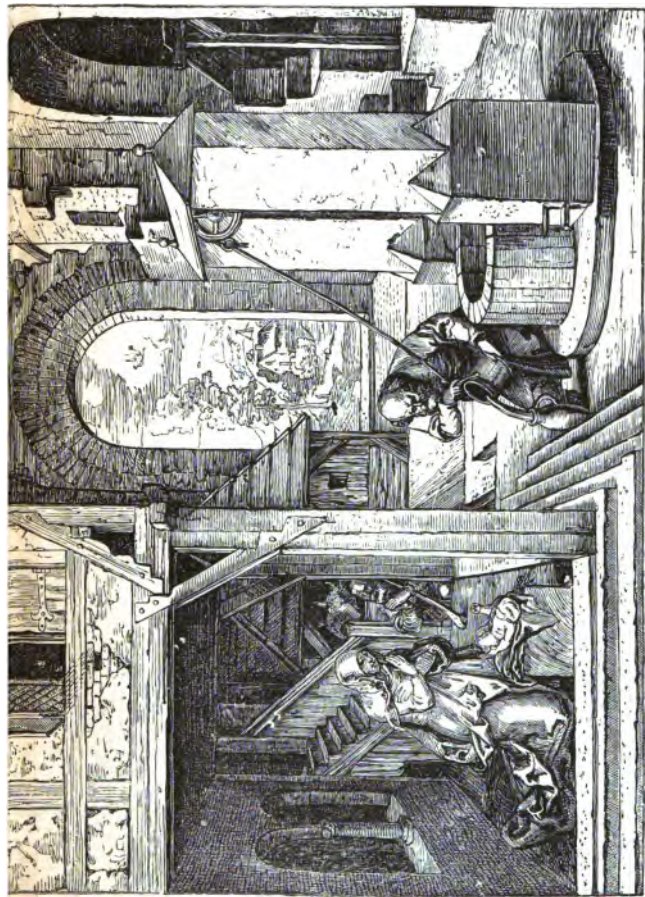




THE NATIVITY. BY ALBRECHT DÜRER.

From the Engraving on copper.





THE NATIVITY. BY ALBRECHT DÜRER.

From the Engraving on copper.



years afterwards the collection was bought by a Dutch merchant for 34,000 thalers. The 'Geheimbuch' says, "God be praised and thanked, such a good bargain for us as we dared not expect, for certainly out of all sold there is not one great work, but chiefly small things painted in water-colours, and amongst them many about which it is doubtful whether they were painted by Albrecht Dürer at all." Still, after careful selection, there are enough to give an idea of his style.

In 1497 he adopted his celebrated monogram, and the next year published the *Apocalypse*. His *Portrait of himself* of 1498, therefore, may be looked upon as a justifiable exhibition of self-complacency. He appears in fashionable dress, more splendid than as a bridegroom five years ago. His hands rest on the parapet which completes the picture. In the background is a village landscape girt with a mountain range and snow-covered peaks. Against it comes out the small head, covered with ringlets, with a fringe of beard on the face. The colour is pale and the tone feeble, but the picture is carefully finished. The eyes have the same look as in the face reflected in the mirror. The original is in the Madrid Museum; a copy is in the Uffizi at Florence.

The first picture painted on commission in 1499, is the *Portrait of Oswald Krell*, in the Pinakothek at Munich. A painting of 1500 must be for many reasons singled out from Dürer's works—*Hercules fighting with the Stymphalian Birds*. It is now at Nürnberg, and has been painted over and varnished, except in some little places, one of which is a stone bearing the date and monogram. An outline etching exists at Darmstadt in the ducal collection. The principal figure exhibits the master's knowledge of anatomy in energetic movement and muscular tension. The greatest pains have been bestowed upon this, while the landscape is slightly sketched in. This is one of the authentic paintings in which the subject is secular, and not a portrait.



CHAPTER IV.

STRUGGLES FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN GERMANY—PAPST-ESEL—
DÜRER'S APOCALYPSE—WOOD-ENGRAVING—CONRAD CELTES—
JACOPO DE' BARBARI—S. EUSTACHIUS.

THE close of the 15th century found Germany in a state of religious agitation. There was a struggle for freedom from the Papal system. In 1492 the notorious Alexander VI. became Pope, and Maximilian I. head of the Roman kingdom of the German nation. Round him flocked the estates and princes eager to establish peace, and restore a constitution. The influence of the Pope in the affairs of Germany was the greatest obstacle. When in 1495 an imperial council was considering the grievances of the people, the Pope issued a decree against publishing unauthorised books, for he discovered in German literature a force which was springing up to push him from his seat. There was a realm, however, which he left unnoticed—the domain of art. While he adorned his palace with the splendours of the Renaissance, insignificant German wood-cuts were undermining the Papal system by speaking everywhere to multitudes whom writings could not reach. In the front of the aggressive artists came Wolgemut with his *Papst-Esel* (Pope's-ass), in 1496. It is inscribed 'Roma caput mundi.' On the left is the Castle of Sant' Angelo with a flag over it, bearing the keys as a device: on the right the *Torre di Nona*, and between them the Tiber. In the centre is a female monster covered with scales. She has

the foot of a goat and the claw of a vulture ; her left hand is stretched out to clutch ; a cat's paw serves for her right. From under a mask shoots out a tail, sprouting into a dragon's head, and between the shoulders is that of an ass. Only under the rule of the patricians of Nürnberg could this little copper-plate have appeared.

Meanwhile, hard by, young Dürer was working at his *Apocalypse*. A year before, in 1495, he had made a sketch of the *Babylonian Woman*, for the last but one of his series of wood-cuts. The drawing is in the Albertina Collection. In the wood-cut there is a voluptuous woman sitting on the beast with seven heads, holding the 'cup of abomination' in her right hand. There is a group of people before her showing little concern in her presence. There is a king pointing at her as he talks, and a sleek countryman with a slouched hat staring with horror ; a soldier and a woman passing flippantly by. The centre figure, type of the boldest thoughts of the age, stands with his arm placed firmly on his hip, and gazes at the monster resolutely and inquiringly, in contrast with a monk close by, who alone prostrates himself before the woman. Above hovers the angel of the 18th chapter, and pointing to the city in flames upon the sea-shore, cries, "Babylon the great is fallen." And the other angel is casting the millstone into the sea, and crying, "Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down." To the left from the open heaven the 'Word of God' rides forth on the white horse, followed by the armies of heaven, to establish the new kingdom. The picture is a revolutionary song—"Alleluia, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth."

Even during his *Wanderschaft*, Dürer was busy with a plan of the *Apocalypse*. In 1498 appeared the first two editions, one with a German, the other with a Latin text :—*Die heimliche Offenbarung Johannis*, or the *Apocalipsis cum Figuris* : it was printed by Dürer himself, and adorned with fifteen wood-cuts.

The first engraving shows the *Sufferings of the Evangelist* in

presence of the Emperor Domitian : the second the *Vision of the Seven Golden Candlesticks*. In the third we see the doors of heaven opened, and the throne of God set in the centre of a gleam of light. The book with the seven seals is on the knees of Jehovah. The Lamb who shall open them stands upon it. One of the four-and-twenty elders around the throne is speaking to the Seer. Separated by clouds from the celestial scene, and lying beneath, is a charming view of sea-shore, with trees and mountains, castles and towers—a picture of peace, unbroken as yet by the torments which follow the opening of the seals.

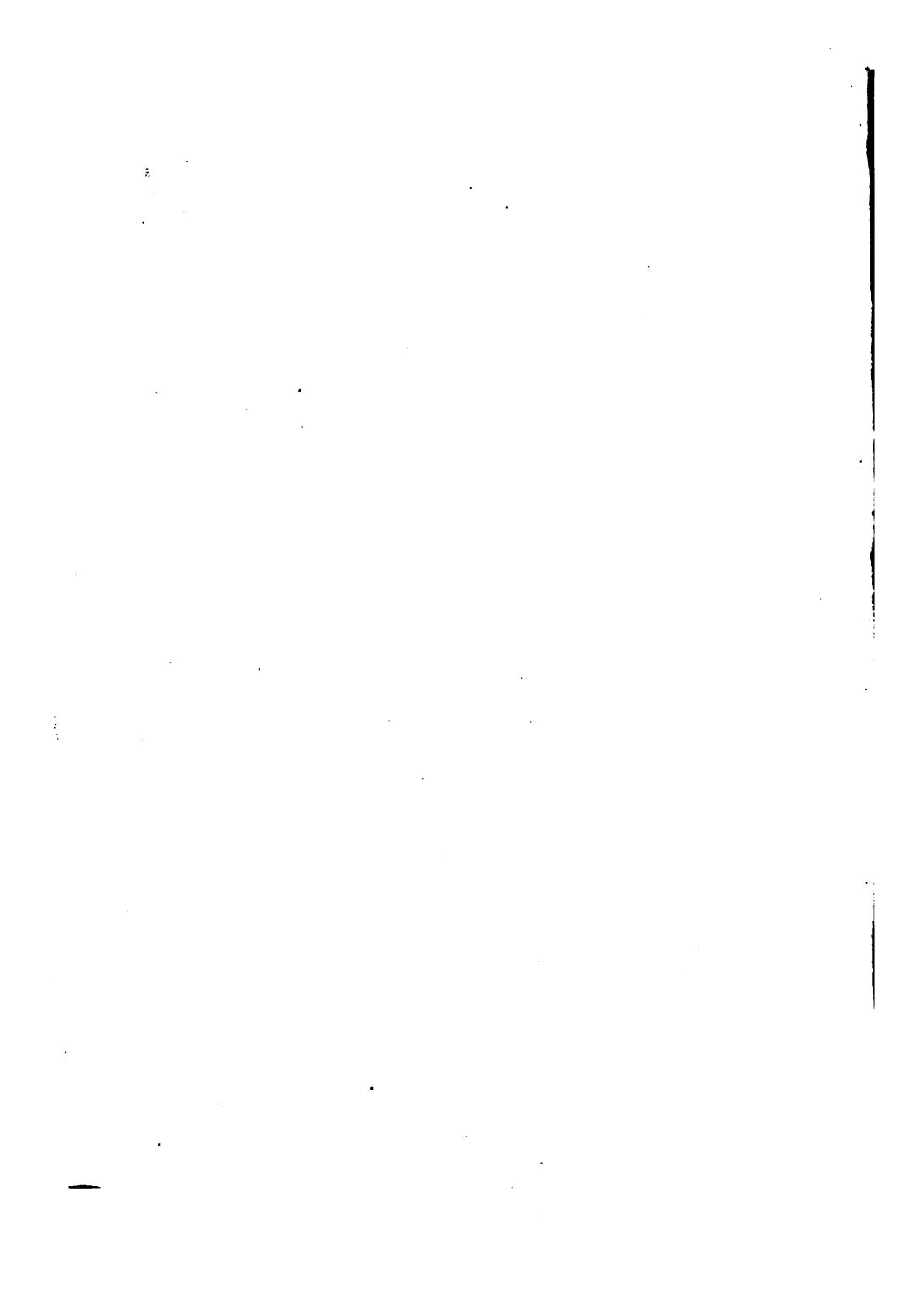
The sequel to this scene is found in the fourth cut, *The Four Riders*. This, one of Dürer's most powerful drawings, has for centuries commanded universal admiration. He adheres faithfully to the sacred text. The riders going forth to execute vengeance bear, the one a bent bow, the second a sword raised and ready to descend with a sweep, while the third is swinging back a pair of scales. The horses are ugly, the men wear fancy dresses of the period. Death, the fourth rider, a withered old man with staring eyes, swinging the infernal trident, bestrides a wretched jade. His legs just touch the ground. Behind him yawns the mouth of the giant dragon Hell, in the act of swallowing a crowned head. The group on the right represents the fourth part of men who shall be slain, in characters of the age—a Nürnberg housewife, a sleek merchant, a shrieking peasant, a terrified burgher, and a tonsured head.

There is no picture so unique in the series, for as a rule Dürer tries to introduce several subjects in one composition. Thus in the fifth cut, *The opening of the fifth and sixth seals*, in the upper part is *The giving of white robes to the martyrs*, the comforting of those who were slain for the word of God. Dürer, in 1521, refers to this subject when he writes of "the innocent blood which the pope, priests and monks had shed." Below, on the earth, the punishment of man has begun—emperor, pope, cardinal, ecclesiastic and layman, young and old, are stricken



SAMSON KILLING THE LION. BY ALBRECHT DÜRER.

From the Wood Engraving.



with terror, and are calling on mountains and rocks to hide them from "Him that sitteth on the throne," for "the great day of His wrath has come." In the centre of the picture between heaven and earth are the darkened sun and moon, and falling stars.

There are also two subjects in the sixth cut, *The four angels holding the four winds*, and *The sealing of the elect*. The angels are old and thin, not bearers of blessing but executors of wrath. Their long bony figures and huge vulture wings proclaim their vocation. Two of them stand motionless with hand upon the sword, more powerful in their repose than a third who is in actual conflict with the winds. In the sky is the angel bringing the "seal of the living God" in form of a cross. Another lovely messenger of peace is sealing in their foreheads the "servants of God," among whom there seem to be some portraits. The seventh cut represents *The giving of the trumpets to the seven angels*, and the plagues following the sounding of the first five; the loosing of the *Four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates*, by him who had the sixth trumpet, occupies the eighth, the most powerful conception of the series next to the Four Riders. Beneath the heavy sword-cuts of the little band rushing on upon their fire-vomiting horses with lions' heads every one falls. Their mission is against the third part of men, and they spare neither woman nor horseman. One is grasping the terrified pope by the shoulder, a bishop already slain lies behind him, and the emperor is vainly grasping at his trembling diadem. Only the angels in their whirlwind career have a right to exist. What is left from their swords is destroyed by the fire, the smoke, and the brimstone which come forth from the mouths of the monsters which carry them.

The ninth cut vainly wrestles with impossible material. Only the head and hands of *The cloud-clothed angel of the 10th chapter* are seen, and the "feet as pillars of fire," as he offers the Evangelist the book to swallow.

The *Woman clothed with the sun* is depicted in the tenth, standing upon the crescent moon, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. Near her the seven-headed dragon is threatening her new-born child, which a floating group of boy-angels is carrying up to God. Dürer recognised, by the wings with which he furnishes the woman "that she might fly into the wilderness," that some other than the Blessed Virgin is meant by the text, probably "The Church of God." The eleventh cut exhibits the *War in heaven between Michael and his angels against the dragon*. The charming landscape in the lower part of the picture is a relief to the fierce struggle waging above in the heaven. The figure of the archangel has always been admired for the mixture of energy and self-restraint which it exhibits.

The *Worshipping of the two beasts* forms the subject of the lower part of the twelfth cut, while above sits upon the throne the Lamb having a sharp sickle in his hand; and angels are hastening to reap the world's harvest.

The thirteenth cut which, contrary to Dürer's own sequence, has been placed as the seventh, is the only pleasant picture of the series, and comes as a relief after all the terrible things which have gone before. Dürer purposely does not confine himself to one subject, in order that he may set forth the joyful issue of all things, the triumph of the redeemed multitude with "the Father's name written on their foreheads," and *The glory of the Lamb*.

The last two cuts of the series seem like an after-piece of the great tragedy. The fourteenth, *The Babylonian Woman*, has been described. The fifteenth forms the conclusion, and contains an *Angel of vengeance* stepping forth to bind "the dragon" for a thousand years; whilst above, another angel is showing to the enraptured St. John the "new Jerusalem coming down from God," which Dürer describes in one of his letters as "the pure and Holy Gospel which shall not be darkened by human teaching."

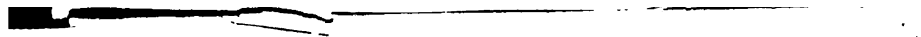
In the title-page to the third edition of this series (1511) Dürer placed a vignette representing an *Appearance of the mother of God to St. John* as he is writing in a book. Perhaps he wanted to reconcile some who had taken offence at the apparent slight to her in the tenth cut. At any rate a half figure of the Blessed Virgin appears there on the crescent moon, and a crown of twelve stars upon her head.

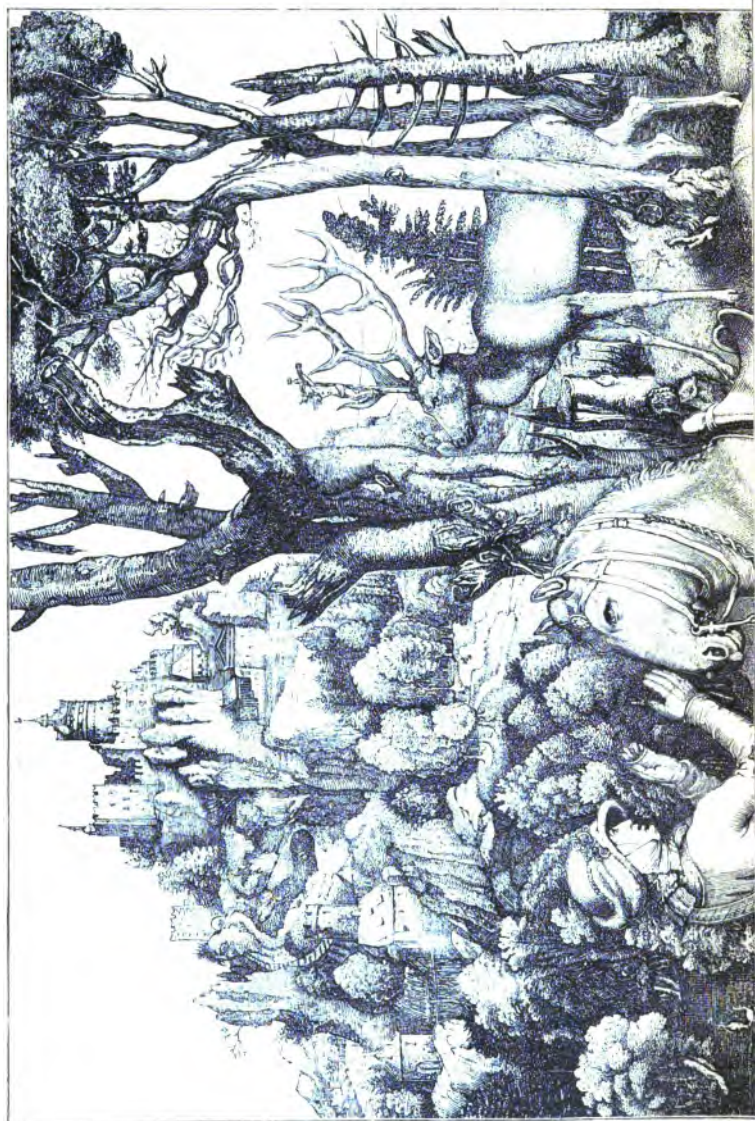
As regards execution, Dürer introduced a new epoch in the art of wood-engraving ; not that he engraved the blocks himself. He did as the rest of the old masters who traced in their designs, and left professed Formschneider (wood-engravers) to carry them out, though sometimes, it is thought, he attempted the cutting with his own hands.

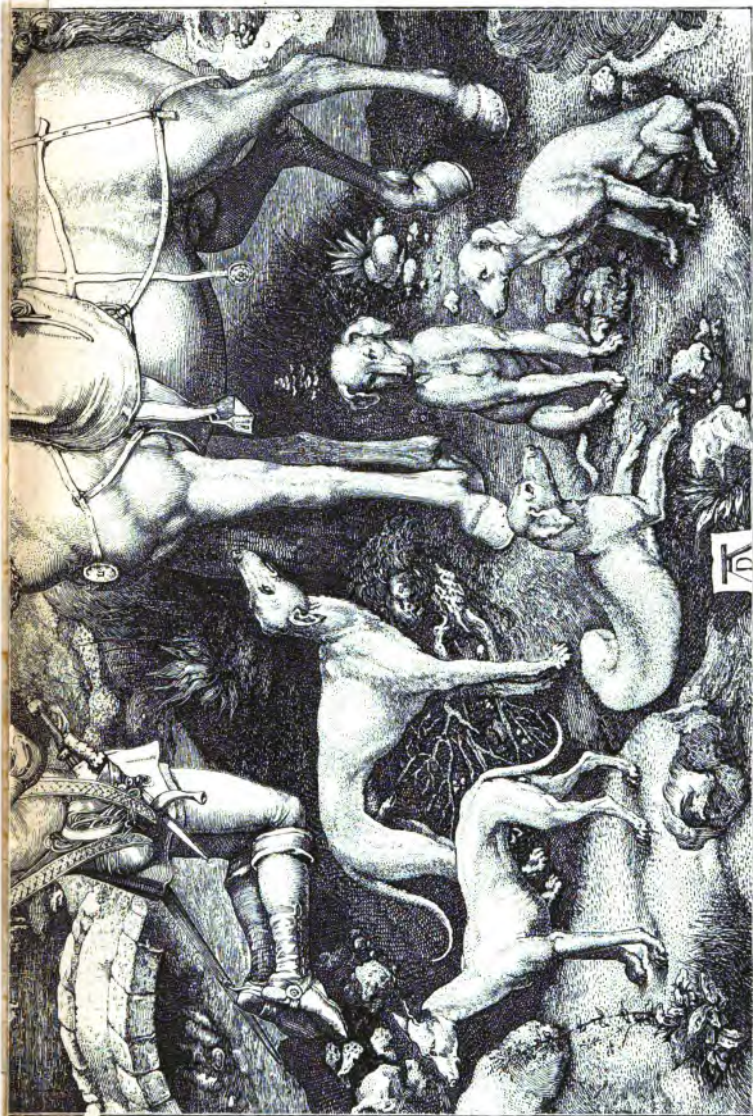
He required no colouring ; his skill in the arrangement of his lights and shades was far more effective than colour. He had the power of setting forth his meaning with unerring precision, so that his designs were easily worked out, and this accounts for his influence upon the wood-engraver's art. As regards sentiment, he has given us an evidence of the side to which he leaned in the religious movement of the day. Drawn as he was through his intimacy with Pirkheimer into the circle of the Humanists, of which Conrad Celtes was the centre, he found no relief there from the fetters of the Church of Rome. His nature was so entirely religious that it could only find sympathy with the Reformers. To the period of his relations with the Humanists, however, many of his mythological woodcuts must be referred. He furnished drawings for Celtes's books—the *Philosophy*, *Apollo with Daphne*, and *Apollo in Parnassus* ; also one of *Celtes before the Emperor Maximilian*. Some were not, however, to the taste of his employers, and were unnoticed. For instance, the beautiful etching of *Apollo*, in the British Museum, and that remarkable drawing in Windsor Castle, bearing the inscription "Pupilla Augusta," with the view of Nürnberg

in the background, which was probably intended for the title-page of Celtes's description of the city.

By degrees, however, and for some time, Dürer seems to have been striving to curb his fancy, and to have sought for greater reality in the Schools of Nature, of the Antique, and of the Italian Renaissance. It is in this period of his development that the influence of Jacopo de' Barbari deserves consideration. All information respecting this man seems to be very defective. He was probably by birth a Venetian, and was known among Nürnberg artists as Jakob Walch. He resided in Nürnberg apparently before 1500. Later we find him in the service of Philip, son of the Duke of Burgundy, and in 1510 he was painter to the Duchess Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands. He was dead in 1516. In Venice he was known as the Master of the Caduceus, and seems to have left the city for ever soon after the publication of his great map in 1500. Dürer came into contact with him early, for he says that he found no one "who had described how to take the measure of the human form, but a man called Jacobus, a native of Venice, a charming painter. He showed me a man and a woman taken by measure, so that at that time I would rather have seen what his meaning was than a new empire. But at that time I was young, and had never heard of such things." To him and his Vitruvius, Dürer ascribes his first knowledge of proportion. To judge, however, from his own figures, Barbari's knowledge was by no means perfect. Dürer must, it would seem then, have known Jacopo either in Nürnberg or during that first visit to Venice which we have before assumed. It was not by accident that Albrecht, just in those years in which we find Barbari's influence at work, adopted that style of minute execution of details which is to be observed in the life-size *stag's head* in the Paris library; the *daw's wing* in Berlin; the *stag-beetle* in the Albertina Collection; the *hares* and the *bouquet of violets*, in which only scent seems wanting. Then there is the *Madonna* in the Imperial

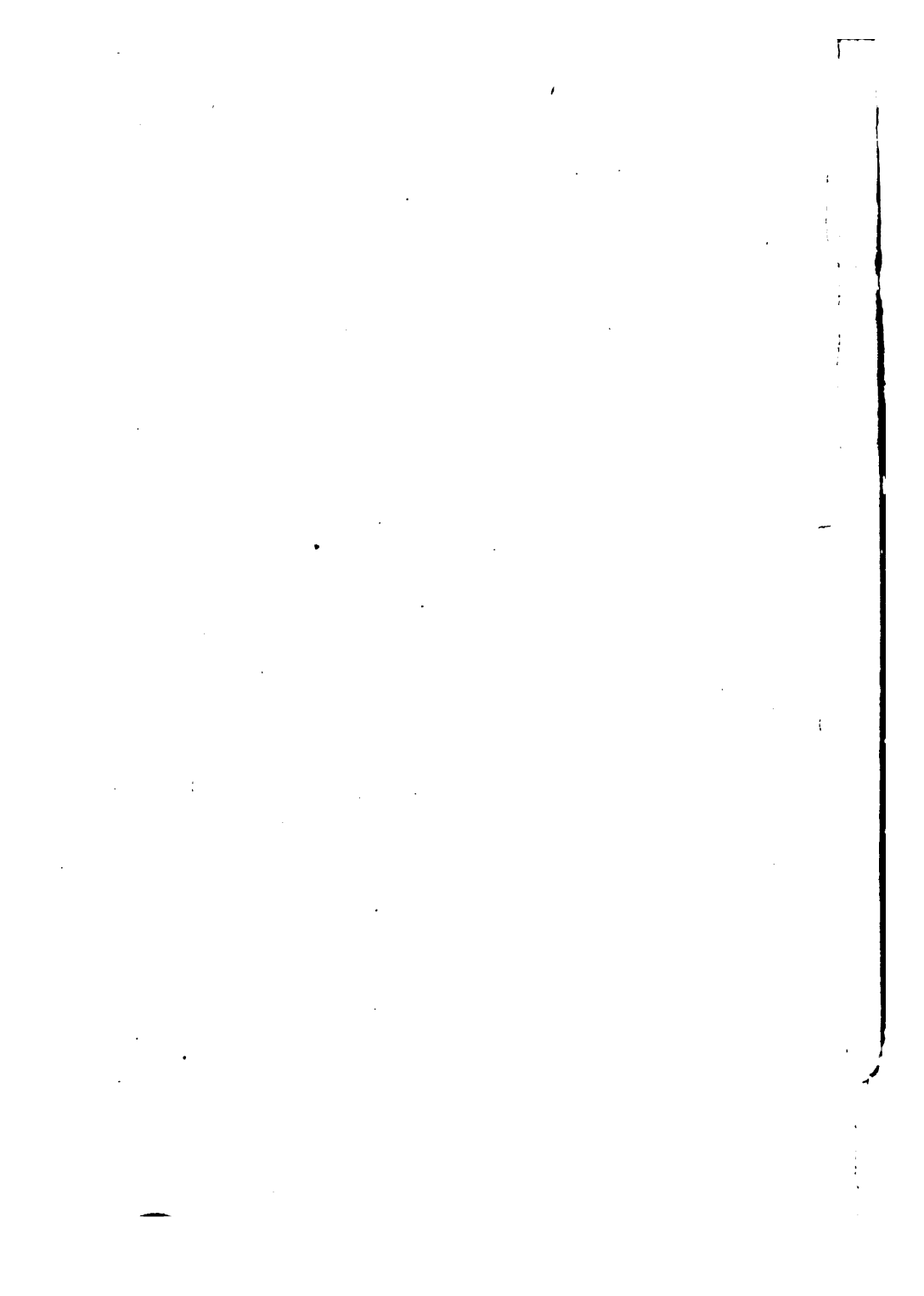






THE CONVERSION OF ST. EUSTACE. BY ALBRECHT DÜRER.

From the Engraving on copper.



Gallery, Vienna, and the unfinished *Salvator Mundi*, which seems to mark a period at which Dürer was abandoning Barbari's style.

In 1504 his first large panel painting, the *Adoration of the Magi*, was completed. It was a commission from Frederick of Saxony, and now adorns the Uffizi. The Madonna, a true German mother, with the charming Infant upon her knee, receives the gorgeous Eastern sages ; while Nature, even to the flowers, the great beetle and two butterflies, seems to share in the solemn devotion of the worshippers.

His largest copper-plate engraving—the *S. Eustachius* (or *S. Hubertus*¹)—exhibits the same qualities as this painting of the *Adoration*. If the great charm of the picture is in the wonderful landscape, yet the detail of execution and the character and arrangement of the figures command the highest admiration. The apparition of a formal stag with a crucifix between its horns has brought the huntsman from his horse upon his knees. He kneels there, the picture of a grand convert. The horse tied to the tree is astonished at the unusual action of his master, and the hounds wait about in the most perfectly natural positions. The progress that Dürer was making under the guidance of Nature is marked in his treatment of animals, and likewise in his dealing with the human form ; he relies more and more upon himself, and less upon an imitation of Barbari. "Albertus Dürer Noricus faciebat ;" so he inscribes his engraving of *Adam and Eve*, in which he shows himself master of his art. This, with the *Satyr Family*, the *Great Horse* and the *Little Horse*, exhibits his triumph over difficulties which we are but little able to appreciate, and shows how entirely he had taken his own course.

¹ The same legend is told of both saints. Dürer himself always called this print "S. Eustachius," and it is therefore a better title than the more common "S. Hubertus."



CHAPTER V.

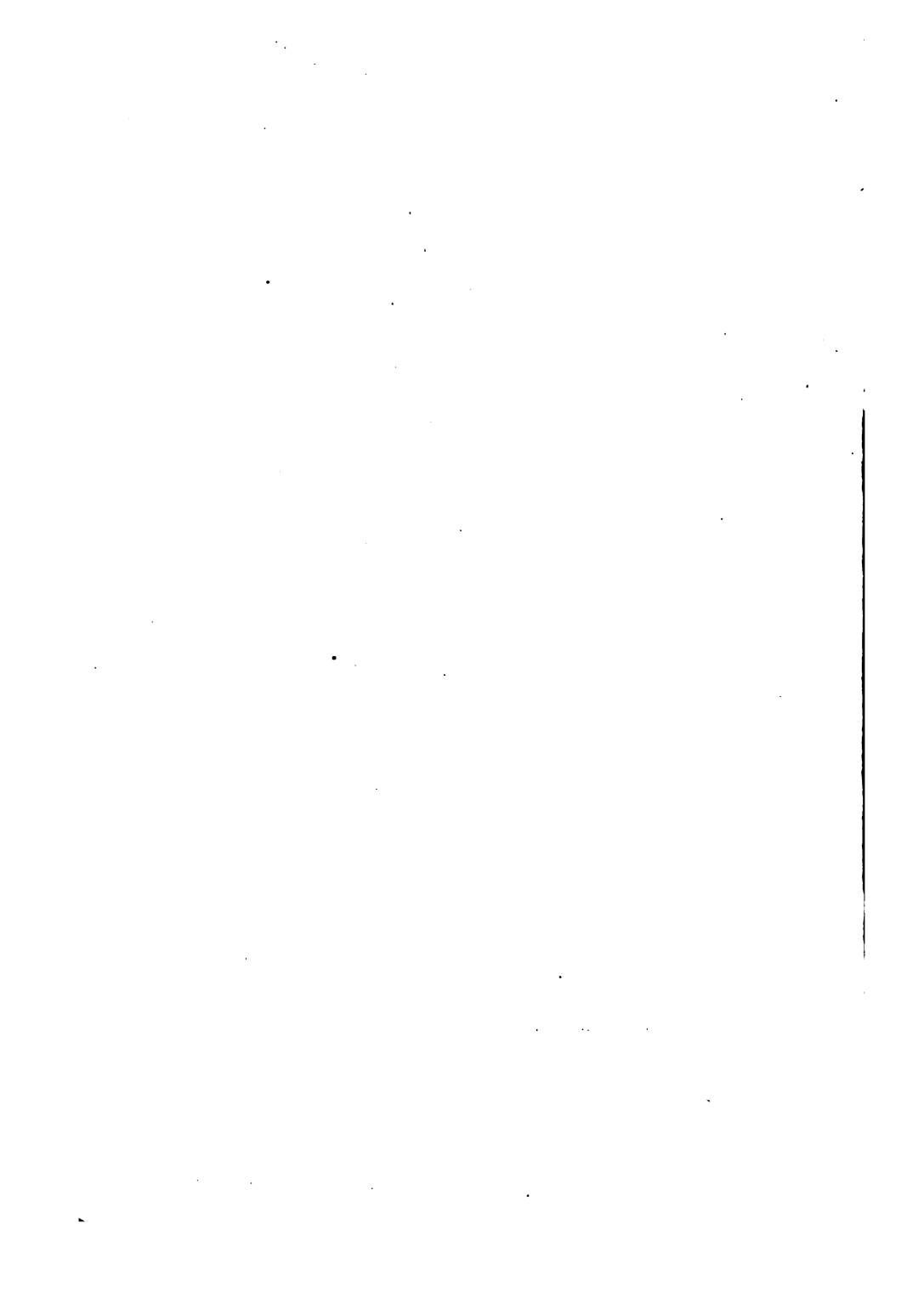
PORTRAIT STUDIES — THE GREAT PASSION — DRAWINGS OF THE
PASSION ON GREEN PAPER — LIFE OF THE VIRGIN — VISIT TO
VENICE—MARC' ANTONIO—FEAST OF ROSE-GARLANDS—GIOVANNI
BELLINI — TITIAN — DÜRER AT BOLOGNA — RETURN TO NÜRN-
BERG.

WHETHER or not we have been right in attributing to a former residence in Venice an influence on Dürer's development, we are certain of this fact, that for the last ten years the great aim of his life had been towards the attainment of the highest and the best. His character had deepened, and the self-dependence of which we have spoken had displayed itself. The loss of his father, and his own sickness, had much to do with this. There is a drawing in the British Museum—the *Head of the dead Saviour* crowned with thorns, the eyes closed and mouth open, the expression one of intense suffering—which bears the inscription, "This I did in my illness," and the date 1503. There is, moreover, a series of portrait studies, including the one of his wife, and another of *Pirkheimer*, very true to the life, which date from this time, and which lead up to the various representations of the Apostles in which Dürer so much delighted. These are proofs of the discoveries which he had made "more than all other painters together" in their search after the real and the true.



CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS. BY ALBRECHT DÜRER.

From the Wood Engraving in "The Great Passion."



His copper-plates and wood-cuts very early found their way into Italy, and were duly appreciated, except those of the *Apocalypse*, which were not likely to please the Italian taste. Before his residence in Venice, in 1506, the commencement of his richest middle style had begun, for of the wood-cuts of the *Great Passion*, though first published complete in 1511, seven seem to have been designed soon after those of the *Apocalypse*. This group of seven consists of *Jesus on the Mount of Olives* stretching out His hand as if to put away the cup which the angel is offering: the *Scourging*: the *Ecce Homo*: the *Bearing the Cross*, the most important of the series, and the one which furnished Raphael with the idea for his celebrated "Spasimo di Sicilia;" Christ holds the cross with one hand, and leans with the other upon a stone, turning with an expression of calm resignation towards the holy women, while a soldier tries to drag Him up by a cord. St. Veronica kneels at His side with outspread handkerchief: the *Crucifixion*, in which the angels which hold the cup to receive the blood are those of the "Apocalypse:" the *Mourning over the Body*: and the *Entombment*.

We gather something of Dürer's ideas upon the subject of the Passion from the twelve drawings upon green paper, dated 1504, in the Albertina Collection. They probably served for studies for some of his published series. At least, they help towards the date of all but the last three of that great series of twenty wood-cuts, the subject of which is the *Life of the Virgin*—a charming picture of Mary amidst the scenes of domestic life, real in every detail without sacrifice of her exalted position as the Mother of our Lord. It is the glorification of family life, a powerful appeal to the German nature, and an enforcement of Luther's teaching, "that there is no more delightful, gentle, or sweeter companionship than a good marriage."

The story begins with the *High Priest's rejection of Joachim's Sacrifice*, because he was a childless man. In the wilderness,

however, to which he has retreated, there is *An angel appearing*, bearing a parchment which contains the promise of a child. *Joachim embraces Anna at the golden gate* is a touching scene—that meeting of the old husband and wife. Then follows a picture of Nürnberg life; the interior of the room where the *Birth of the Virgin* has taken place, and is the theme of conversation among eleven gossips who regale themselves with beer, while the Child is being put into a bath. The fifth cut is the *Presentation of the Child*, now three years old, in the temple. She runs eagerly up the steps of the temple, followed by her father and mother bearing gifts. The *Marriage of Mary and Joseph* is performed by the high priest before an arched portal richly ornamented in Gothic style. The bride is a genuine Nürnberg girl, as is also her attendant in the high cap. Into the picture of the *Annunciation* there is a strange introduction of the devil, in the shape of a hog, watching from outside. The *Visitation*, which forms the subject of the eighth drawing, affords an opportunity for the introduction of a beautiful mountain landscape, and of the half-shorn “Dürer-dog.” The *Nativity* gives a view of a ruined stable, with the Infant in a basket, the object of adoration by its mother and by angels. Nowhere has the subject of the *Adoration of the Kings* been more happily treated than in the next cut, the tenth of the series. In place of the stable is a castle ruin, upon some fragments of which the Virgin is sitting happy with the Child upon her lap, who turns half playfully to the kingly old man kneeling before him. The second king is delaying his offering so as to encourage the third who is a Moor. Then follow the *Circumcision*; the *Presentation in the Temple*; and the *Flight into Egypt*, which has the character of Martin Schongauer’s drawing in the palms and exotics, and even in the shape of the donkey. But the most charming of the series is the *Rest in Egypt*, a picture of domestic happiness and repose. Joseph is at work, and a group of little angels, playing naturally about, gather up the shavings. One has the workman’s hat upon its little head.



CHRIST TAKING LEAVE OF HIS MOTHER. BY ALBRECHT DÜRER.

From the Wood Engraving in "The Life of the Virgin."

The building in the back-ground is a strange mixture of wood and stone, with an introduction of work that looks like a piece of Dürer's own house in Nürnberg. Joseph is stopping for a moment to look at the Child in the cradle rocked by its mother, who sits happily spinning beside it. There are two grand angels watching over this charming scene of family life. In the next cut we see *Jesus disputing in the Temple*, and then follows the scene of his *Parting with His Mother*, after years have passed, before his last journey to Jerusalem. The Virgin has grown old now. The Son, a majestic figure in flowing dress, turns to bless her. She is wringing her hands in despair, and breaks down with the weight of her agony.

When Dürer went to Venice in 1505, sixteen out of the twenty cuts of this series were finished. The *Christmas*, an engraving representing the birth of Christ, has the date 1504, and is in the same style as if it were a part of the *Life of the Virgin*. The last two of the series, the *Death of the Virgin* and the *Assumption* (of which there is a drawing in the British Museum), dated 1503, were designed but not completed at this time.

According to Vasari, the cause of Dürer's visit to Venice was a suit against Marcantonio Raimondi respecting these woodcuts. The only interdiction which the Signoria granted, however, was against the use of his monogram. On the later editions, therefore, of the copies of Dürer's *Little Passion*, Marcantonio left a plain tablet which he oftener used than his own monogram.

In his letters from Venice to Pirkheimer, which are interesting inasmuch as they afford some slight idea of Venetian art society, though they are mainly filled up with trifles connected with his friend's affairs, Dürer describes the Italian painters as hostile to him. They were given to copying his engravings and wood-cuts, though they reviled his art and said it was "not antique." Some say that he went to Venice to escape the plague in Nürnberg, others to sell his works and obtain commissions. One acknowledged aim was an order for an altar-piece for the church of San Bartolommeo, which came probably through Pirkheimer's friend Kolb, one of

the great German merchants connected with the Fondaco de' Tedeschi. This building had been burned down in 1504-5, and the rebuilding was entrusted to a German named Hieronymus. In Dürer's first letter, Jan. 1506, he says, "I have to paint a panel for the Germans for which they give me 110 gulden." He did not apparently know his worth at this time, for he says later that he would have done better to refuse the commission. Crowds of Italians came to visit his studio, and the nobles were friendly to him, but his art brethren were mostly jealous. On Sept. 8th he writes to his friend: "My panel says it would give a ducat for you to see it; it is so good and beautiful in colour. I have got much praise but little profit from it. I have silenced all the painters who said that I was good at engraving but could not manage colour. Now everyone says that they have never seen better colouring." It was finished on Sept. 23rd. The subject of the picture was the *Feast of Rose Garlands*; it is now in the monastery of Strahow, near Prague. The Madonna, holding the Infant Saviour, sits upon a throne in the midst of a pleasant landscape surrounded by the founder of the feast, S. Dominic, and groups of men and women kneeling who are being crowned with wreaths of roses by numberless little angels. In the centre Pope Julius II. receives his garland from the Infant, while Mary places a wreath upon the head of Kaiser Max. There are many familiar Dürer faces in the assembly, likenesses of some of the leading German merchants. Hieronymus the architect is, no doubt, that thin man with the rule in his hand. Apart from the scene are the figures of Wilibald Pirkheimer, and Dürer himself with a scroll bearing the inscription, "Exegit quinquemestri spatio Albertus Dürer Germanus M. D. VI." In the distance the eye rests upon the fortress and castle of Nürnberg. The composition is masterly, but the painting has suffered much.

When Dürer announces the completion of this work to Pirkheimer, he tells him of another picture "the like of which he had never done." Probably this was *Jesus among the Doctors*, now in the Barberini Palace in Rome, a picture with seven half-

figures done in five days ; it seems intended for a great study in hands ; those of the Christ are the main feature of the picture. This painting has an historical interest, as showing the sympathy between the genius of Leonardo da Vinci and that of Dürer. In spite of the rapidity of execution, the minuteness of detail is remarkable, especially in the beard of one of the Pharisees. Dürer's hand was ready at such work. There is a pretty story told of old Giovanni Bellini, whose friendship with Dürer was most interesting. He wanted to get at the mystery of Dürer's fineness of touch, and once begged particularly for one of the brushes with which he painted hair. Dürer produced his stock, and placed them at his friend's disposal. The old man, however, did not find among them the particular brush which he expected, and asked again. Dürer, however, assured him that it was a brush of the usual kind which he always used, and to prove it took up the first that came to hand and rapidly painted a lock of a woman's hair in such a manner that Bellini afterwards declared he would not have believed it had he not seen the work done. Dürer speaks in his letters with admiration and affection of Bellini, whose acquaintance he made soon after his arrival in Venice. "Gianbellini," he says, "has praised me much before many of the nobles. He wanted to have something of my work, and came himself to ask me to do something for him, and he would pay well. Everyone tells me what an honourable man he is, and that he likes me ; he is very old, and still the best painter." There was Titian too, a young man at this time, upon whom the presence of Dürer must have had some effect, and we even seem to trace in his celebrated *Tribute Money* an inspiration from the Nürnberg painter, though of course it far surpasses all the German's work. There is a wonderful example of this minuteness of style in the Dresden *Christ on the Cross*, dated 1506. The open mouth shows the teeth and tongue at the moment of uttering the words, "Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum," which appear in the inscription.

In one of his letters Dürer says that he has sold almost all the panels which he had taken with him, and had plenty of commissions in Venice; but he seems to have carried out only one of his intended excursions to other parts of Italy from which he hoped to have obtained some profit. His friend Scheurl tells us of his visit to Bologna, and was an eye-witness of the reception which was given him; how they reckoned him first among painters, and declared that they should die more happily after their long-wished for sight of Albrecht.

Dürer left Venice in 1507. His letters to Pirkheimer were found in a room which had been walled up in the house of Wilibald Imhof, which came into the possession of Christoph von Haller in the middle of the last century. Another letter was found in the British Museum. The first five speak of domestic cares and anxieties which followed him to Venice, and he repeatedly expresses his gratitude for his friend's help, who had provided him with money for his journey. Pirkheimer gives him numbers of commissions for classical books, carpets, glass, crane-feathers—"fool's feathers," Dürer calls them—to put in his hat, and especially for precious stones. Dürer's mode of writing was very peculiar, but shows a freedom of style and intimate knowledge of his language. His nature thawed under the Italian sky, and he constantly deferred his departure, dreading to return to Nürnberg, where he says that he should only be a hanger-on. "How cold I shall be after this sun," he says. "Here I am a gentleman." Unhappily Pirkheimer's letters with one exception are wanting, but this one proves that he wrote in Latin, which assumes Dürer's familiarity with the language. Indeed the artist mixes up bits of Latin with Italian and German in his correspondence in an unmeaning way; still we are able from these letters to get a fair idea of his literary attainments which were considerable, and it is necessary to remember that he was an author and a scholar as well as an artist.

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THE DESCENT INTO HELL. BY ALBRECHT DÜRER.

From the Wood Engraving in "The Great Passion."



CHAPTER VI.

ADAM AND EVE—MARTYRDOM OF THE TEN THOUSAND—JAKOB
HELLER—ALL SAINTS PICTURE—MADONNA WITH THE CUT PEAR
—DÜRER'S IDEAL MADONNA—MÜLLER—PLASTIC AND OTHER
WORKS—DEAD ROLLER—DIPTYCH FOR A PRIVATE ALTAR.

WHILE in Venice Dürer took advantage of his opportunities of studying from the nude, and on his return seems to have devoted his powers to competition with the great Italian masters on their own ground. His *Adam* and *Eve* of 1507, painted on wooden panels, are the most perfect nude figures which then had come from the hand of a northern artist. The original paintings were in the Rathhaus at Nürnberg, and thence came into the possession of the Emperor Rudolph II., copies being put in their place, which the French carried off in 1796, and presented to the town of Mainz, where they are still shown as a Dürer-treasure. The originals, however, found their way to Florence, or, as Passavant maintains, to Madrid. From the numerous sketches which he made for these paintings, some of which (those for the *Eve*) are in the British Museum, we may judge of the labour which he bestowed upon them. The position of *Adam* is the same as that of his engraving, except that the head is raised and the lips parted in delight, so that the tongue is visible. He holds in his left hand the branch with the apple

on it which Eve has given him, stepping forward with a smile upon her face. He was soon employed upon another painting which contained a throng of figures, the *Martyrdom of the ten thousand Saints, under king Sapor II.* It was painted for Frederick of Saxony, and is now in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna. He writes to Jakob Heller, a rich merchant of Frankfort: "I have been troubled with fever for some time, and have therefore been hindered in my work for Duke Frederick of Saxony for several weeks, which is a great loss to me, but now I shall be able to finish his work, which is more than half done." On March 19th, 1508, he reports that in fourteen days it will be finished. "I wish you could see my gracious master's panel, I think it would please you. I have worked at it for almost a year, and got little profit from it, for I do not receive more than 280 Rhenish gulden for it, and have spent almost that over it." The representation of death in its most cruel forms is not fascinating, but the grouping and variety of attitudes afford an opportunity for the exhibition of the greatest skill, in foreshortening especially. Pirkheimer and the artist are unconcerned spectators; the latter dressed in black holds a flag with the inscription, "Iste faciebat anno Domini 1508 Albertus Dürer Alemanus."

On the 24th of August, 1508, Dürer writes to Jakob Heller: "I beg you will offer the picture of the Virgin which you saw here to anyone whom you know requiring a panel. If a suitable frame is put to it, it will be a pretty panel, for you know it is carefully done, and you shall have it cheap. If I had to do it for anyone I would not take less than fifty gulden, but as it is finished it might be damaged here. Therefore I authorise you to let it go for thirty gulden, but it should go for twenty-five rather than remain unsold. I have spent much upon it, and have lost many a meal through it." Later he withdraws his offer in these words, "You need not look for a purchaser for my picture of the Virgin, for the Bishop of Breslau has given me seventy-five

gulden for it; I have sold it well." This was probably the *Madonna with the Iris* in the Prague Gallery.

But this picture will not bear comparison with another to which he next devoted his attention, the *Coronation of the Virgin*, an altar-piece which he executed for Jakob Heller. It was to be set up in honour of St. James and St. Catherine, the patron saints of Heller and his wife, in the Dominican Church at Frankfort. Heller had much intercourse with Nürnberg, and found Dürer after his return from Venice eager to undertake such a painting. The design originated with Heller, and the work was undertaken for 130 Rhenish gulden. The painter spent so much time over the centre picture, that he felt compelled to ask two hundred gulden. The merchant had made his bargain, however, and was not disposed to alter it, and wrote to reproach Dürer with not keeping his word. Dürer replies that of course he had rather hold to the contract than that any ill-feeling should arise, but he says that all artists value it at three hundred gulden, and that he would not take even three times that money to paint such another picture. He pledges himself to do every stroke of it himself, and was more pleased with his work than any he had done before, and he had rather it should go to Frankfort than any other place in Germany. So it was finished and sent off in August, 1509, done with the best colours he could get, and painted in some parts many times over so that it might last for a long time. "I know," he says, "if you keep it clean, that it will be clean and fresh for 500 years, for it is not done as people usually do their work, so take care of it, and don't let people touch it or sprinkle holy water upon it." The picture remained in the church for a century, and brought the monks a goodly income, and then Maximilian of Bavaria became its possessor. It perished in a fire at the Munich palace in 1674. A copy done by a good Nürnberg artist, Paul Juvenel, took the place of the original; it gives an idea of the loss sustained, but there are evidences in Dürer's own

hand of its character. He made more numerous studies for it than for any other picture. Every hand and head and every piece of drapery was a study from nature. Dürer meant to complete his reputation as a painter by it. He seems to have left the side-wings to his pupils, among whom was his brother Hans, for Heller gave him two gulden for *Trinkgeld*. The inner wings represent the martyrdom of the Saints James and Catherine, and in the lower parts of the panels beneath their respective patron saints are likenesses of Heller and his wife. The frame as well as the picture was from Dürer's designs, and it was constructed under his direction.

When the Heller altar-piece was furnished, Dürer set to work upon the *All Saints* picture, which is now in Vienna in the Belvedere. It has survived, while the Frankfort picture, whose immortality the artist foretold, has perished. The colouring is still bright and the leaf-gold untarnished, but the precious ultramarine, which was Dürer's favourite colour, has suffered. The first sketch for this picture was done in 1508. The painting, an altar-piece, was destined for the chapel of "The House of the Twelve Brothers," or Landauer Monastery, an almshouse for aged citizens of Nürnberg founded in 1501 by two benevolent burghers, Schiltkrot, and Landauer. The *All Saints* picture, or as it has commonly been called, the *Adoration of the Trinity*, like Raphael's *Disputa del Sacramento* of about the same time, is a glorification of the Roman Church, and the last from a German hand before the Reformation. It is interesting to note the different methods in which these two renowned painters have treated the same subject. In the centre of both paintings the Trinity is the object of adoration, in the first place by the Blessed Virgin and by John the Baptist; but Raphael has in view simply the idea of the Roman Church as the spiritual head of the whole Church on earth. The apostles and saints are seated in dignified conclave around the throne of the risen Christ, the theologians and fathers form a lower circle,



THE TRINITY. BY ALBRECHT DÜRER.

In the Belvedere, Vienna.



and are disputing with regard to the Holy Sacrament. Dürer's painting, on the other hand, for the almshouse founded by the two Nürnberg coppersmiths, has for its object the revelation of the joy in heaven over the redemption of the creature by the mystery of the suffering of the sinless One. God the Father is enthroned in Majesty, and holds forth the Cross on which the Saviour hangs to the gaze of an adoring multitude of martyrs of the New Testament, chiefly women, at whose head is the Virgin ; while on the other side John the Baptist leads the host of Old Testament worthies. The Church militant and suffering is depicted with the pope at its head. One cardinal is turning to encourage the modest founder Landauer to come forward, who is humbly kneeling with his household in his train.¹ The opposite side of the picture is made up of other classes of men—emperor, burgher, and peasant with a flail in his hand. There is a lovely coast-scene. On the right Dürer has put in a portrait of himself holding a tablet, with the inscription that Albertus Dürer of Nürnberg did it in 1511. He sketched a frame for this altarpiece, too, rich in detail and ornament, and of antique design.

The picture remained in Nürnberg for nearly a century, and then like the *Adam* and *Eve* became the property of Rudolph II., who obtained it from the Rath.

In this series of Dürer's great paintings we must include a small but perfect one, the *Madonna with the Pear*, dated 1512, which hangs in the Belvedere at Vienna. The Virgin, in blue dress and white veil, is gazing with motherly tenderness upon the Child in her arms, which has a piece of pear in its little hand. This is one of the most perfect of Dürer's Madonnas, and exhibits clearly his idea of the Virgin. Unlike the Italian masters, who always depicted a maiden in the graceful beauty of eternal youthfulness, he delighted in her relations to the Infant. She is generally occupied with Him. She is not so much an

¹ A pencil-sketch of Landauer's profile marked with Dürer's hand, Landauer styfter, 1511, is in the collection of Mr. W. Mitchell.

object of adoration as a Nürnberg mother full of natural instincts. As we saw in the *Life of the Virgin*, she is born amidst the prattle of Nürnberg gossips, dresses like a burgher's wife, and rocks the cradle or sits at her work as any other matron. She knows but one feeling, her love for the Child which grows with His growth, and feels the burden of sorrow which increases with the development of His destiny. The angels about the Child are as natural as Himself—little children full of fun, and always busy at their play.

After 1512, the careful style which Dürer had adopted was abandoned, and he gave up with a sense of disappointment the practise of panel-painting for some time. It was only after his Netherlands journey in 1520 that his ambition was again aroused to emulate the wonderful colouring of the Flemish School. To that period belong many carefully-painted likenesses and the large picture of the *Four Apostles* which was done for his native city.

We are brought now to consider the numerous works ascribed to Dürer in hone-stone, ivory, and other materials, most of which bear his monogram, but nothing more. They are creations of a much later date, and designed only to fill up the collections of the curious. It is true that Dürer had a reputation as a sculptor even among his contemporaries, and so he had as an architect, but we have seen how little remains which can enable us to form an independent judgment. So is it in the matter of sculpture. The most famous works, and those which bear marks of the greatest authenticity, are the high-reliefs in hone-stone representing events in the *Life of John the Baptist*. They are the *Visitation*, which is in the episcopal seminary at Bruges; the *Birth of St. John*, in the British Museum, dated 1510, and having the monogram; and the *Preaching in the Wilderness*, in the Brunswick Museum.

There are four similar reliefs in Vienna, representing events

in St. John's life, but marked with a monogram S and G intertwined—that of Georg Schweigger, a sculptor and metal-caster of considerable repute in Nürnberg in the seventeenth century. Three of these reliefs certainly are of the Dürer type, and derive their character from his woodcuts. And in Berlin there are portraits of Pirkheimer and Melancthon, done in metal by this same Schweigger from Dürer's engravings. These carvings are in strong contrast to the perfect execution of a small silver plate, which bears marks of being really Dürer's work. It is a low-relief of 1509, cast in silver, representing a female figure, and exhibits many points peculiar to Dürer. It is on one of the corners of a satchel, and appears to have been a present from Dürer to Helena Imhof on her marriage. The work may have come from his brother's workshop, and may have been done from a design which he supplied, for he could not have undertaken such a commission himself, interested though he was in metal-work, and familiar with it from the time which he spent with his father.

Whether Dürer tried his remarkable skill in the production of other plastic works must be left undecided. The authorship of many medallions which bear his monogram is still more questionable. The most valued are a portrait of his father, which is said to have been done in 1514, another of his wife, and a profile of Wolgemut. Towards the end of the 16th century, the practice of coin-collecting came into vogue in Nürnberg, and it is not surprising to find that Dürer and his friends were favourite subjects. The idea that he interested himself in such work is refuted by an answer which he gave in 1509 to the Elector Frederick, who sent to him for advice upon the casting of some coins—"he did not trouble about such things, and could give the Elector no satisfactory information." There are many evidences that he was good-natured enough to supply all sorts of designs to goldsmiths and others, and his brother Andreas's workshop was open to him if he wanted to try his hand, but no actual

encroachment upon the rights of the Goldsmiths' Guild would have been permitted, and metal-working was subject to special superintendence. In his Netherlands Diary he speaks of drawings for a woman's frontlet which he made for an Antwerp goldsmith; at another time of designs for dagger-handles. There are also goldsmiths' designs in Bremen and in the British Museum, but there is no need to add anything doubtful to a list of works which he actually performed, so numerous and so varied as to excite the greatest wonder.

In Vienna there is a memento of his skill in painting on glass; it represents the *Holy women waiting over the body of Christ*. Dürer never gave up miniature painting in tempera upon parchment and paper, but he used it chiefly in copying plants and flowers and animals from Nature, in which he tried to rival her. It is difficult to draw a line between his genuine work and the multitudes of pieces attributed to him in the Albertina Collection at Vienna, in Bremen, and in England. In the Albertina Gallery there is a master-piece, *The Dead Roller* (*coracias garrula*), a bird of most beautiful plumage, and a second drawing of one of its wings. These are dated 1512. There are also in the Berlin Museum the wings of a *Nut-pecker*, and single feathers of the same bird, together with other drawings which exhibit a beauty of execution beyond description.

The *Wing of a Jay*—a tempera drawing signed and dated 1524, the property of Mr. Alfred Morrison, is another marvellous example of Dürer's powers of miniature painting. It attracted much notice at the Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters in 1879.

A remarkable specimen of Dürer's exquisite fineness of painting is a grey diptych for a private altar, dated 1510. It represents *Christ leaving the tomb*, and the parallel of *Samson slaying the Philistines* with the jaw-bone. It is first mentioned among the pieces in the Imhof collection, and appears to have been sold to Rudolph II. It was in the Imperial Gallery at

Vienna in 1783, but soon after that the one part, depicting the Resurrection, seems to have been separated from the rest. It is now in the Albertina Gallery ; the other half is in Paris, in M. Hulot's possession. Each of the sides consists of three divisions, bordered by Renaissance devices. The uppermost part contains the principal subject inclosed in an arch springing from pillars. The inscription on the tablet, "Albertus Dürer Norenbergensis faciebat post Virginis partum 1510," and the monogram are an evidence of the value which the artist put upon this, the finest specimen of his linear drawing. He only used this form of marking for his best pictures.



The Virgin seated on the Crescent Moon. *Reduced from the Vignette on the title-page of "The Life of the Virgin."*



CHAPTER VII.

COPPER ENGRAVING—THE COPPER PASSION—ETCHING UPON IRON
—DEGENKNOPF—DÜRER PUBLISHES HIS BOOKS—RAPHAEL'S
LETTER—MUNICH PORTRAIT OF DÜRER—MONOGRAM—CAMERA-
RIUS.

DÜRER was not yet content with his achievements in the art of copper-engraving. He devoted himself to obtaining a still finer and freer use of his graving-tools, and at the same time sought out every method of perfecting his work. After his return from Venice, as we have seen, he partially laid aside the graving-tool, and occupied himself with panel-painting, thinking thereby to improve his position. In 1507, however, he completed only the first plate of his *Copper Passion*, the *Descent from the Cross*; two others followed in the next year. Ten of the sixteen plates of which it consists are dated 1512; the last, *Peter and John healing the Lame Man*, was added the next year. This, as distinct from the *Great* and the *Little Passion*, is less known perhaps, but is in no way inferior to them. The frontispiece represents the *Man of Sorrows* standing by a pillar with his arms crossed upon his breast, and holding in the one a scourge, in the other a reed. Through an arch upon a distant hill are seen three crosses. It is followed by *The Agony*; *The Betrayal*; *Christ before Caiaphas*; *Before Pilate*; *Scourged*; *Mocked*; *The Ecce Homo*; *Pilate washing his Hands*; *Christ*

bearing the Cross; The Crucifixion; The Descent from the Cross; The Entombment; The Descent into Hell. In this grand plate, as Mrs. Heaton beautifully describes it, he "has entirely departed from the conventional method of representing hell." He is releasing "not disembodied spirits, but real men and women, . . . from the chain of their sins. . . . The figure of Christ here is very grand. . . . The principal idea that this figure conveys to the mind is that of help—power to help—help to ascend from the underground abodes of doubt, darkness, and despair towards the blessed light of God's love." He is "preaching to the spirits in prison," as S. Peter describes him. This plate is followed by the *Resurrection*, and the last plate *Peter and John*, which is mentioned above.

In 1510 Dürer made many experiments which were destined to be of great importance in the future of the art of engraving. His first attempt at a lighter and freer style is the *S. Veronica* with the handkerchief; the *Man of Sorrows*; *S. Jerome with the Willow*; the *Holy Family* by the wall, all executed with the dry point.

Etching upon iron was by no means unknown to Dürer, and in the growing taste for ornamented armour he found a rich field for its employment. This may be assumed from three pen and ink drawings for armour, dated 1517. So far as we know he was the inventor of the art of etching with aquafortis. Professor Thausing is of opinion that he employed it on copper-plates in 1510-14, but finding that the acids were not strong enough, and that the plates required so much labour in touching up with the dry needle, he gave up and tried etching upon iron, which succeeded perfectly. The brittleness of the metal, however, did not admit of the delicate perfection which would satisfy Dürer. Moreover, it was liable to rust. About 1514 he seems to have adopted a method which combined the old style of working with a dry needle and graving tool only, and his later discovery of the use of acid. He at first lightly etched the plates with the aid of

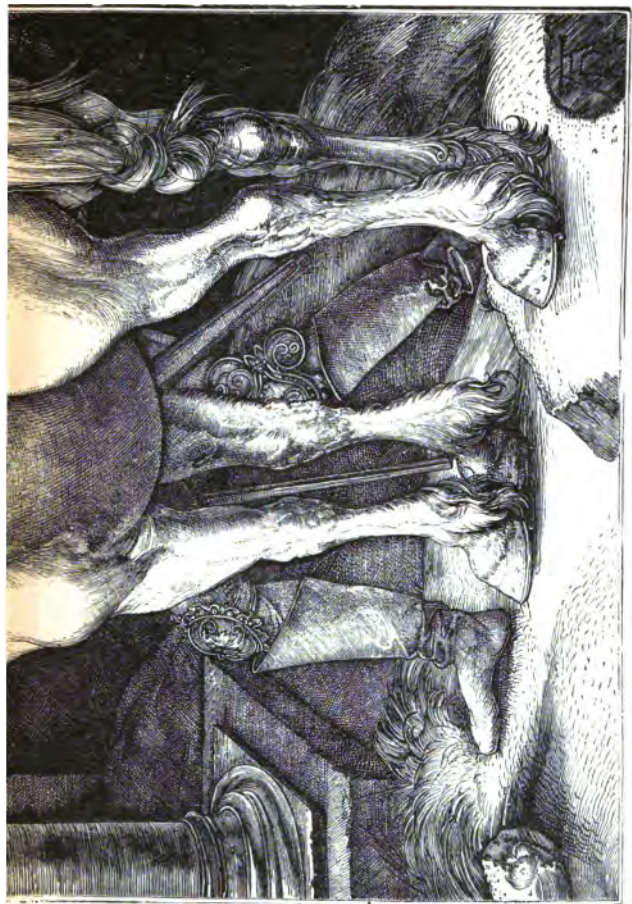
aquafortis, and finished them stroke by stroke with the graving-tool, a system which has lasted for centuries. The engravings which were completed by this method were not disfigured by the harsh contrasts observable in his earlier works, but were of a soft, silver grey. They comprise among others the celebrated works, the *Melencolia*; the *S. Jerome*; and *The Knight, Death, and the Devil*.

Among Dürer's special triumphs in the art of engraving was the *Degenknopf*, a gold plate, which contains in a circle of little more than an inch in diameter a representation of the *Crucifixion*. A few impressions of it were taken, though it was not intended for engraving, but as an ornament for the handle of a presentation sword to the Emperor Maximilian. The sword itself is in the Ambras Collection in Vienna, but the gold plate is missing, and its place is filled by a silver one of inferior workmanship. It is the smallest of Dürer's engravings, and the only one done on gold. It was seen at Innsbruck, and again in 1556 by one Daniel Specklin, an architect of Strasburg.

Dürer's wealth of imagination, however, was expended rather upon wood-cutting than engraving. The great wood-cut of the *Trinity* (1511) is only a different rendering of part of the *All Saints* painting, but surpasses in careful and delicate execution all that had before been achieved. About the same time appeared a series which approached more or less nearly to this great work. The *Man about to be scourged*, of which the first sketch is in the British Museum, the *Beheading of John the Baptist*, and *Salome bringing S. John's head to Herodias*; the *Mass-book of S. Gregory*, dated 1511, and *S. Jerome in the Cell*, a worthy forerunner of the celebrated engraving of 1514, and others.

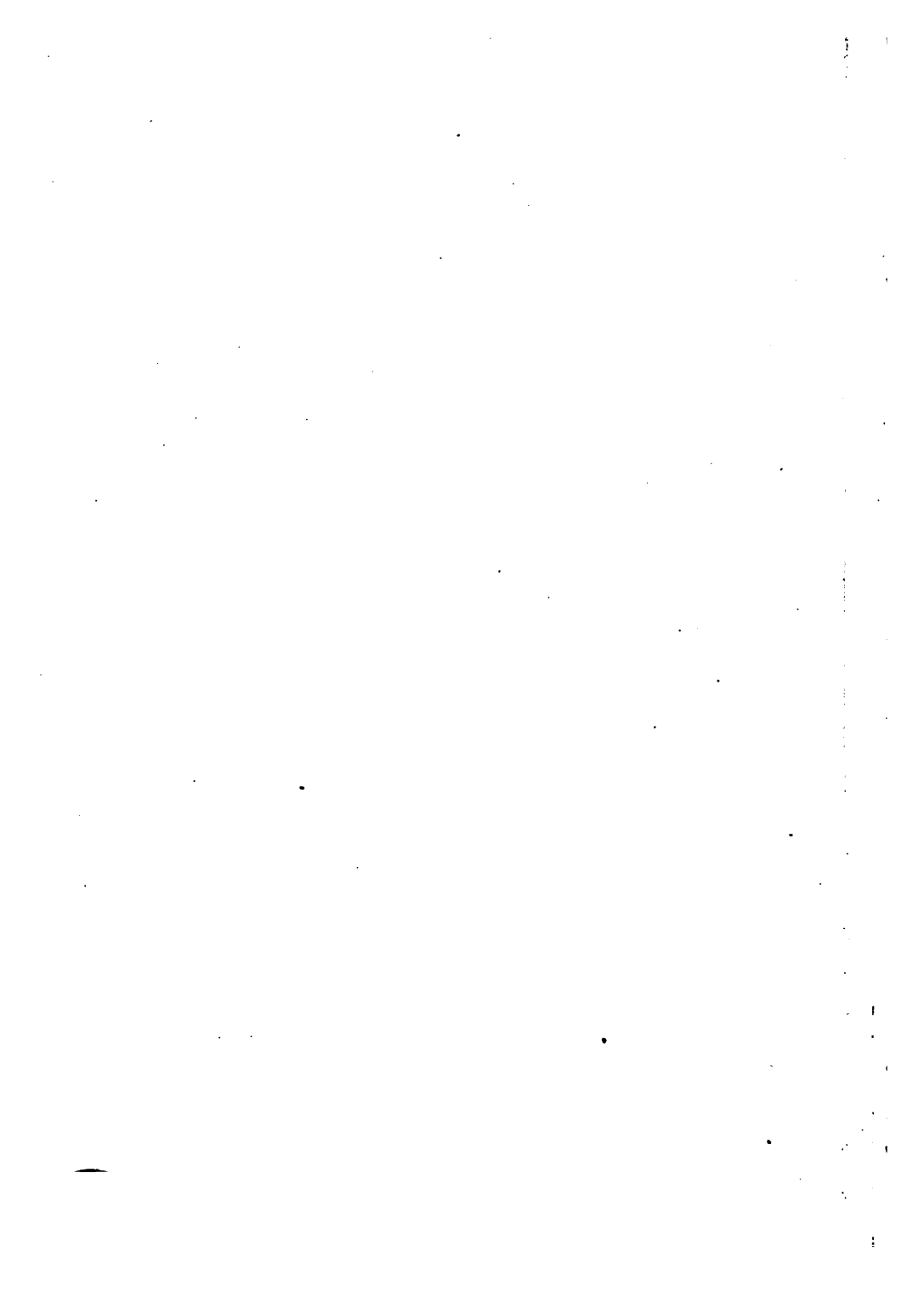
In 1511 Dürer concluded the great series of wood-cuts upon which he had been at work for so long, and issued them as books. He prepared a new edition of the *Apocalypse*, and added the title-page; he enlarged the *Life of the Virgin* to twenty





THE GREAT WHITE HORSE. BY ALBRECHT DÜRER.

From the Engraving on copper.



cuts with a vignette; and brought the series of the *Greater Passion* up to twelve wood-cuts, adding the *Last Supper*, the *Betrayal*, the *Mocking*, the *Descent into Hell*, and the *Resurrection* to the seven which we mentioned before. He also treated the same subject, The fall of Man and his redemption through Christ, in a series of thirty-seven wood-cuts and called the *Little* or the *Lesser Passion*,—the best-known, perhaps, of all his works.

The improvement in his circumstances since his second residence in Venice enabled him to undertake the serious expense of publishing these works. He had a printing-press and all necessities set up in his house, and no doubt was assisted by his godfather Koburger, the great printer. His illustrated books obtained a great sale in every direction.

He was not, however, content with all the different characters which he had assumed; he would also be a poet. In a charmingly simple manner he tells us how in 1509 he made his first rhymes. "There were two," he says, "and had each the same number of syllables, and I thought I had done them well." It was no wonder that Pirkheimer laughed as he did at them, as well as at the fresh attempt which the painter made upon "Eight gifts of wisdom" which he implored of God in very homely rhymes. His verse-making, which was perhaps not far below the standard of that day, did not last beyond 1510. By a curious coincidence Raphael seems to have been the subject of a like poetical fervour at about the same time, and to have cooled as speedily. He was, like many other of the Italians, an ardent admirer of Dürer, and is even said to have adorned his workshop with the German's drawings, engravings, and wood-cuts. He became acquainted with them no doubt through Marc Antonio, who copied the whole *Life of the Virgin* and the *Little Passion*. We mentioned above that Raphael copied in his *Spasimo di Sicilia*, figure by figure from the *Christ bearing the Cross* in the *Great Passion*. His admiration for Dürer naturally gave rise to the desire to know him; and in order to establish friendly relations between them

Raphael sent several of his drawings in 1515 "to show him his hand." One of these, the *Naked Picture*, is in the Albertina Collection at Vienna. In return he received a life-size *Portrait of Dürer* by the artist's own hand, which increased his astonishment at the skill of the Nürnberger. He bequeathed this portrait to his favourite pupil Giulio Romano, but it has disappeared.

To the portraits of himself of 1484, 1493, and 1497, must now be added the celebrated one in the Pinakothek at Munich,¹ dated 1500, by which Dürer lives in our thoughts. A magnificent man he is, with rich brown hair falling in a profusion of well-ordered curls from his uncovered head; he looks at us with that rapt but inquiring expression so peculiarly his own. His hand, which was of remarkable beauty, holds his fur coat in a peculiar and not pleasing manner across his breast. The self-consciousness which all his portraits of himself exhibit must not be attributed to more than a legitimate vanity. He belonged to an age in which no light value was set upon personal appearance, and it was only consistent with his lofty sense of his own greatness that he should desire the honour of immortality, for he had a right to feel that such men as he should not sink into oblivion.

At first, from 1485—1496, he used to put only the capital letters of his name to his works, and then he adopted the monogram, a large A with D enclosed. From 1503 he also added the date, and finally, to ensure the authenticity of his four greatest works, and to transmit his likeness, he adorned them with his portrait as well as the monogram, date, and inscription. In two of them he stands alone, but in two he associates his friend Pirkheimer with himself and his fame, and does not forget to let the world know that he is a German, and a citizen of his beloved Nürnberg. His friend Camerarius, a favourite of Melancthon, and Rector of the High School in the city, speaks in his preface to Dürer's 'Four books of Human Proportions,'

¹ See Frontispiece.

of the noble form well adapted for the abode of so glorious a spirit, of the charm of his language in conversation, of the greatness also of his mental and moral qualities, and extols him as "the truest preserver of modesty and chastity." No painter ever more fully realized the twofold character of the greatest event in the world's history, the Life and Passion of our Lord. He seems to have had a special revelation, and to have accepted the Divine mission of proclaiming the power of Christ in elevating the every-day life of man ; and accordingly he depicted Him with all the realism of Schongauer and Wolgemut, as if He were living in the Nürnberg of his own day. But more than this, he grasped the idea of the redemption of man by the sufferings of Christ, and hence the marvellous conception and impressive treatment which the Passion pictures display.

"Every mother is pleased with her own child" he used to say, and so he transferred his own features to his representation of the Redeemer, while he threw his whole force into the production of a form which should present to the world the image of Christ which had appeared to his own soul, not an undefined approach to a heavenly shape, but an embodiment of that which is perfect in humanity. This is the highest effort of art.

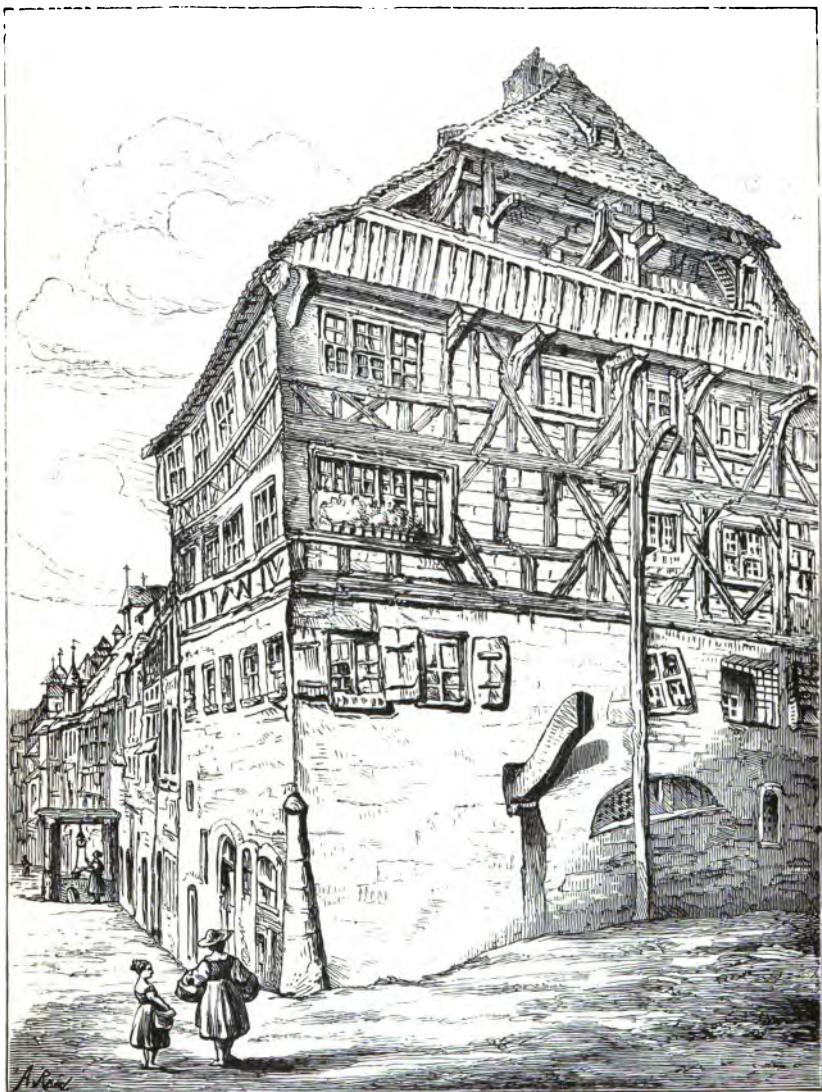




CHAPTER VIII.

MAXIMILIAN — THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH — STABIUS — MAXIMILIAN'S
PRAYER-BOOK—THE TRIUMPHAL CAR—THE RATHHAUS WALLS.

SO long as Dürer was occupied in the pursuit of fame, or in the struggle for wealth, he had little time to devote to the interests of his city or to the glory of his Emperor. But when his reputation was secured, and his position established, he had better opportunities for following his inclinations. In the year 1509, he became possessor by purchase of the house near the Thiergarten Gate, in what is now called Albrecht Dürer-Strasse. The outside of the house has undergone but little alteration since his day, though the interior has been re-arranged by successive owners. It is now the property of the city. In this same year he was made a member of the Rath, which increased his reputation among his fellow-citizens and was a suitable acknowledgment of his merits. Soon after this, the Council gave him their first commission to paint two large panels with the portraits of *Charlemagne* and *King Sigismund* for the relic-chamber in Nürnberg. This chamber was in the house of a citizen, and was used to contain the insignia and coronation ornaments during the night at the time of their annual exposure to public reverence, which was at Easter. These insignia, richly adorned with relics, had been in Nürnberg since the days of Sigismund, who brought them



ALBRECHT DÜRER'S HOUSE IN NÜRNBERG.
From the Engraving in Dibdin's "Biographical Tour."

there, and they usually hung in a shrine in the dome of the hospital church.

Maximilian's short stay in Nürnberg during February of the year 1512 was important to Dürer, as it gave him the opportunity of establishing relations with "his king," as he always called him. Up to this time his Majesty's interest in the city did not go beyond a requisition of valuable lime of which the city had a monopoly, and which was used for making the crucibles employed in his brass foundry; this was in constant work under Peter Vischer on the designs for his tomb at Innsbruck. The new town of Vienna, however, and not Innsbruck, was destined to be his final resting-place.

The head of the Roman Empire in Germany had no settled abode, but, when not actually engaged in war out of the country, travelled about from place to place. Maximilian wanted to have a printed record of his travels, and being a man of poetical nature, and having a childish delight in self-glorification, he was never weary of dictating verses or suggesting sketches, which described or illustrated the events of his life. In Dürer he found just the man for his purpose, and accordingly gave him a large part of his commissions. The book which received the name of *The Triumph* was to surpass in size and magnificence all that had preceded it, and was to consist of two parts: *The Triumphal Arch* and *The Triumphal Car*. The designs for the first part were entrusted, in 1512, entirely to Dürer. It consists of ninety-two separate blocks, which when put together form one colossal wood-cut, ten feet six inches high by nine feet wide. In 1515 it was ready for the Formschneider, the celebrated Hieronymus Andreae, who executed the designs with the same precision as Dürer sketched them with his pencil or pen. The arch itself has three gates, the centre one of *Honour and Power*, and on either side those of *Praise* and *Nobility*. Above the side arches are towers, and over the central one a large panel—the principal part of the design, containing Maximilian's great genea-

logical tree, which rises to the top of the wood-cut. The events in the Emperor's personal history are detailed in twenty-four blocks in the space between the top of the side arches and the towers, each one of which is in itself a work of art. A guide to the sketches is supplied in verse by Stabius, the royal poet and historian, a man of extraordinary ability, who had been the companion of his Majesty for sixteen successive years. Dürer displayed such remarkable zeal in this work that the Emperor, as a mark of his favour, requested the Nürnberg Rath to exempt him from all taxes, a ready method of payment without diminishing the royal resources. The request, however, was not complied with, and Dürer had to expend his strength apparently for nothing. Hieronymus also, to whose delicate cutting the perfection of the wood-engraving is due, was obliged to be content with the favouring presence of the Emperor in his workshop, and thus it came to pass that at his Majesty's death, the artist and Formschneider were compelled to avail themselves of the permission which had been granted to them to make the most that they could of their work. They published in one large wood-cut twenty-one of the historical series as a memorial of the late Emperor, with a notice of his titles and death, which rapidly went through four editions; the blocks for the entire work still remaining in the possession of Hieronymus.

The intercourse between Stabius and Dürer during the residence of the historian in Nürnberg was both agreeable and profitable to each. Stabius secured the assistance of the artist in the preparation of his charts and maps, the blocks for some of which are in the Cabinet of Engravings in Berlin, while Dürer obtained from the Emperor, through the intercession of Stabius, an annuity of 100 gulden which was chargeable upon the city taxes due to his Majesty.

In 1515 the artist published a drawing which is now one of the great treasures of the British Museum. It was the likeness of a *Rhinoceros* which was brought from India to the King of

Portugal. The animal, the first of its race to appear in modern Europe, created such a sensation that a drawing of it was sent to Dürer, who forthwith made it public in a wood-cut, which until recent times was the received representation of the strange creature.

The celebrated *Prayer-book of Maximilian* claims our notice at this time ; in it Dürer revelled unrestrained in the domain of fancy, if it is fair to speak of his quaint illustration of suggestive thoughts in such language. There are only three copies of the book known to be in existence ; one is in the Munich Library ; a second in excellent preservation and a marvel of typography is in the Vienna Library ; and the British Museum possesses a third. The Munich copy, which is now very imperfect, is the one intended for the Emperor. The text was composed for his special use and given to Dürer to illustrate. He filled the parchment margin with pen-drawings (in different-coloured inks), which have been censured severely, though they are only an evidence of the liberty which the sense of the ridiculous takes with the gravest thoughts and most solemn language. Branches and leaves are intertwining, birds are singing, apes are climbing, snakes are creeping, and gnats are buzzing ; in fact, almost every living thing seems to be displaying its special gift, while the words of the prayers follow upon one another. The royal Psalmist is charming a listening stork with his harp ; the battle-prayer is enriched with scenes of combat ; a fox playing on the flute to fluttering poultry is illustrative of the wiles of the tempter ; and a group of village musicians is playing the ' Canticum novum ' with all the strength of their bodies. S. Anthony is exposed to the lures of an old woman with a high cap, and a wretched little devil in a picture of the Annunciation tears his hair and screams from the effect of the heavenly rays which are pouring upon him. So closely does the profane tread upon the heels of the sacred ; so readily does the ludicrous intermingle with the sublime. The delicate composition of the *Christ on*

the *Cross with John and Mary and the four angels* which adorned the Eichstadt Missal, and afterwards Luther's Old Testament, was designed at the same time as these marginal drawings.

The more the Emperor employed Dürer in wood-cutting the more the artist neglected his painting. So it is not surprising to find that the feeblest of his works date between 1513 and 1520: those which do exist having little title to be considered authentic. The best among them are the *Lucretia* of 1518 and the *Portrait of Wolgemut* of 1516, both of which owe their merit to their having been sketched some years before. Dürer was as anxious as the Emperor himself for the success of the *Triumph*, of which the *Arch* was only one-half. The other part is called the *Triumphal Procession*, or, from the central object in the series, *The Emperor's Triumphal Car*. The design for this work was not confided to Dürer alone, but to many other masters, and especially to Hans Burgkmair, who is responsible for sixty-six of the wood-cuts. Pirkheimer drew the plan of the car; it is now in the Frankfort Museum. It is adorned, he tells the Emperor, "not with gold and precious stones, which are the property of good and bad alike, but with the virtues which only the really noble possess." The Emperor is seated in the car accompanied by Truth, Clemency, and other Virtues; the driver, horses, reins, and wheels are Virtues too; but the merit is not the allegorical design. The drawing, which was carried out in Dürer's workshop, is now in the Albertina Collection. Pirkheimer sent it to the Emperor, explaining the causes of the delay in its execution, and commending the industry which Dürer had displayed. Among Dürer's special wood-cuts in the series are the *Spanish Marriage*, the *Burgundy Marriage*, and the *Small Triumphal Car*. Altogether there are twenty-four cuts in the *Triumphal Procession*, which are received as his. The wood-cutting was not finished during the Emperor's life-time. During the sitting of the Augsburg Diet in 1518 Dürer was permitted to take the *Portrait of Maximilian*. The charcoal drawing, full of life, and of



PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN.

From a Drawing by Dürer in the Albertina Gallery in Vienna

life-size, bears the marks of hasty execution, but exhibits to advantage the noble head, the laughing eyes, and strongly-marked features. It is in the Albertina Gallery. The two wood-cuts taken from this sketch are of the same size. In one which Dürer published after the Emperor's death as a memorial, the portrait is set in a handsome frame of ornamental columns on the tops of which are griffins holding the Imperial arms and the order of the Golden Fleece. Beneath is the inscription: "The dear Prince, the Emperor Maximilian, departed this life happily on the twelfth day of January, A.D. 1519, in the fifty-ninth year of his age." The fine oil-painting in the Belvedere at Vienna is taken from the same sketch.

The story of the Emperor's attempt to sketch with Dürer's charcoal which kept on breaking in his hand is attributed to the time of the Augsburg visit. Dürer had to finish the sketch, and the Emperor asked how it was that the charcoal did not break in his hand. "Gracious Emperor, I would not have your Majesty draw as well as myself," the artist replied with a laugh; "I have practised the art and it is my kingdom, your Majesty has other and more difficult work to do."

Another celebrated portrait, that of the young *Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg*, dates from the time of the Augsburg Diet. The engraving called the *Little Cardinal* was finished in 1519; the *Large Cardinal*, done on a larger scale, was sketched during the Netherlands journey or during the Diet at Nürnberg in 1522—1523.

In Augsburg Dürer became acquainted with Cardinal Matthäus Lang, afterwards Archbishop of Salzburg, who was a patron of art, and knew the artist from his relations with Stabius. The beautiful *Christ bearing the Cross* in the British Museum, together with other drawings which bear the Cardinal's arms, are proofs of the commissions which he gave to Dürer. His month's residence in Augsburg must have been a pleasant one, and it was no wish of the Emperor that he should

come away empty-handed, but alas ! gold was scarce with his Majesty at all times. There was a prospect, however, of a sum of money that Dürer was to have due the following year from the Nürnberg taxes, irrespective of his income. Maximilian wrote upon the subject from Augsburg in September 1518 to the Rath, and begged them to pay "to our and the nation's dear and loyal Albrecht Dürer, our painter, those 200 gulden in return for his faithful and willing services given to us at our command for the *Triumphal Car*, and in other ways." Dürer bore the order home with him, but the Emperor's death made him fearful about the money, lest the new emperor should not acknowledge his claim. Accordingly in 1519 he offered to mortgage his newly-acquired house to the Council in consideration of their paying the sum in advance, but he was unsuccessful, and had to be thankful for the continuation of his pension.

A change of government in the old German Empire was a matter of no small moment. Every one hastened to secure the favour of the new sovereign, and with it the privileges which he had enjoyed. When therefore Dürer knew that Charles V. was to succeed his grandfather and to be crowned at Aachen, he determined to go to the Netherlands to meet him and obtain a confirmation of the pension which Maximilian had bestowed upon him. This was his chief reason for the Netherlands journey, in 1520, of which we are about to speak.

There is some work from Dürer's designs on the Nürnberg Rathhaus walls, but he had no share in carrying it out. The long wall of the old Gothic hall is divided by two doors into three unequal parts. For these divisions Dürer furnished sketches, illustrative of the three ways in which the immense hall was used ; for the Council Meetings, for the Administration of Justice, and for Social Festivities. The centre space is occupied by the allegorical subject, which originated with Apelles and had been attempted by a long list of celebrated artists, in which an incompetent judge is represented with large ears, into which

Suspicion is whispering, while Ignorance stands on the right side: at a sign from the judge, *Calumny* drags forth Innocence by the hair despite her appeals to heaven. The main space between the doors is occupied by the *Piper's Stool*; and *Maximilian's Triumphal Car*, painted on a large scale and corresponding with the grand wood-cut, fills the third. In the car the emperor sits alone. These are the only known frescoes in which Dürer had a share, even to the providing designs.



Christ Mocked. Reduced from the vignette on the title-page of
"The Great Passion."



CHAPTER IX.

THE NETHERLANDS JOURNEY — ANTWERP — QUINTEN MATSYS —
KRATZER — ERASMUS — BRUSSELS — ROGER VAN DER WEYDEN —
ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET — PRESENTS — CÖLN — ZEALAND —
NARROW ESCAPE OF SHIPWRECK — BRUGES — GHENT — JAN VAN
EYCK — MADRID PORTRAIT.

ON the twelfth of July, 1520, Dürer set out on his interesting journey, the chief object of which we have mentioned. The plague, however, was raging at Nürnberg at this time, and everybody who could possibly leave the city did so. He took with him his wife and her maid Susanna, who was more of a humble friend than servant. His journal is a strict and amusing account of his travels, and throws more light, both upon his personal habits and reputation as well as upon the conditions of art and the manners of his time, than any other source of information which we possess. The first edition of it was brought out in 1799, and was followed by another, more complete, in 1828. The original is probably hidden away among some family papers in Nürnberg. It seems to have been a small book chiefly intended for entering his receipts and expenditure. He was a careful man, and put down every penny that he spent at each place that he came to, with a note of any important incident of the journey. The diary was only intended as a help to

his memory, so that he might tell his friends at home all the wonderful things that he saw. He first made for Antwerp, where art industry was beginning to develop itself, carrying with him a good supply of his woodcuts and engravings, for which he hoped to obtain a ready market in a city of such reputed wealth. By the sale of these he looked forward to defraying the expenses of his journey, and to obtaining any introductions which he wanted.

In passing Bamberg he presented the bishop with a painting of *The Madonna*, a *Life of the Virgin*, an *Apocalypse*, and engravings to the value of a gulden, which procured him episcopal hospitality, and a 'Zollbrief,' or letter of exemption from customs for his works of art, together with three letters of recommendation to some men of influence. All honour was paid him by the Bamberg painters. Passing on to Frankfort and throughout the bishop's jurisdiction his 'Zollbrief' was of the greatest value to him. He met his friend Jakob Heller, for whom he had painted an *Altar-piece*, but he makes no mention of the picture, only of receiving some wine at his inn from the merchant. At Mainz, people strove for the honour of entertaining him, and laden with presents he started by the Rhine-boat for Cologne, and eventually arrived in Antwerp, and put up at the inn of Jobst Plankfelt, whose portrait in pen-and-ink exists in the Städel Institute at Frankfort, with an inscription in the artist's handwriting.

Jobst Plankfelt was a man of importance in Antwerp, and of great service to Dürer, who stayed some time, and arranged to take his meals with him, leaving his wife and maid to cook theirs in their own room for the sake of economy. On the evening of his arrival he was entertained "at a costly meal," by Stecher, the factor of the celebrated merchant house of the Fuggers, who were the Rothschilds of that time. The head of the house, Anton Fugger, lived in Augsburg in such royal style that once when he was entertaining Charles V., to whom he had advanced large sums of money, he threw all the bonds which

the Emperor had given him upon the fire to make a blaze after dinner. The Fuggers were however distinguished not only for their enormous wealth, but for their employment of it in founding charitable institutions and schools, and also for their services to literature and science, in which many members of the family achieved considerable reputation.

On the next Sunday the painters invited Dürer with his wife and maid to a banquet at their Guildhall. Everything there excited his admiration, from the costly viands to the silver plate. All the wives of his entertainers were present, and the whole company received him standing as if he had been a lord. There were many people of distinction there who showed him the greatest respect, and expressed their anxiety to do him honour. The Antwerp Rath sent two servants with tankards of wine as a mark of their goodwill and esteem. The feasting was kept up far into the night, and at length the guests were escorted home with torches. These manifestations, occurring likewise in other Netherland towns, are a proof of the reputation which preceded him, and which, together with his personal recommendations, procured for him patronage and friendship everywhere. He was overwhelmed with invitations and presents, which he acknowledged according to his means. At Antwerp he called upon Quinten Matsys, but makes no remark upon his visit; and here too he became acquainted with the celebrated Erasmus, who gave him presents and allowed him to draw his portrait several times. He also took the likeness of the astronomer, *Nicolaus Kratzer*, whom he met at the house of Erasmus, and who was useful to him in many ways. He was a native of Munich, but lived at the court of Henry VIII. Dürer found many valuable patrons among the foreign merchants, and received from the Portuguese consul presents of foreign wines, sweetmeats of all sorts, and some "sugar-cane just as it grows." His principal friend was the Genoese Tommaso Bombelli, with whom he constantly dined. He was particularly struck with a grand procession on

the Sunday after the Assumption, when the whole town was assembled, every one dressed in the most costly manner. It was headed by German pipers and drummers, and consisted of representatives of all classes of tradespeople, each with a special badge; merchants and shopkeepers, soldiers and civilians, priests and scholars, and twenty persons bearing "our Lady with the Lord Jesus ornamented in the most splendid manner to the honour of the Lord God." Then followed representations of characters and scenes from the Old and New Testament, and the history of some of the saints, the whole procession occupying more than two hours in passing his house.

On August 20th he went with Bombelli to Brussels, and there met with a deputation from his native place, who had been sent to Aachen with the imperial crown for the coronation of Charles V., which was kept at Nürnberg with the other crown jewels. The names of these Rathsherren were Ebner, Groland and Haller. There was much to interest Dürer in Brussels, especially in the Hotel de Ville, which contained four paintings by Roger van der Weyden (these were destroyed during the French siege in 1695). His curiosity was excited by "the things which people had brought to the king from the golden land" (Mexico); a golden sun, a silver moon, two rooms full of armour, and "all kinds of wonderful things for man's use, that are as beautiful to look at as they are wonderful . . . I have never in all my life seen anything that has pleased me so much as these things, for I saw among them wonderful artistic things, and was astonished at the subtle *ingenia* of men in foreign lands, and I don't know how to express what I think about them."

While in this city he was honoured by a summons to the presence of the Archduchess Margaret, who was remarkably gracious to him, and promised to use her influence on his behalf with her nephew Charles. She had inherited a love of art, and found, in cultivating her taste for it, some alleviation from the monotony of her otherwise cheerless life.

On September 2nd Dürer returned with his friend Bombelli to Antwerp. A crowd of artists and other distinguished men was assembled there to be present at the State entry of Charles V. Here Dürer received the intelligence of the dispersion of Raphael's works, in consequence of his death in April of this year, 1520, from Tommaso Vincitore of Bologna, who had come to the Netherlands with an urgent letter from Pope Leo X. to superintend the production of the tapestries after Raphael's cartoons. Vincitore, who had been a pupil of Raphael, presented Dürer with a gold antique ring, in return for which Dürer gave him all his "best things, worth six gulden." He afterwards gave Vincitore a whole set of engravings to be sent to Rome in exchange for some of Raphael's works.

The number of presents of his works which Dürer made during this tour is astonishing. Every page of his diary contains a note of something which he gave away and the value of it; but the repetition of the things which he received and their price, with the return which he made, is too tedious for reproduction in full. Tommaso of Bologna painted Dürer's portrait, and an engraving was made from it by Stock in 1629. He has on a wide hat and fur mantle. The hair is not so long as it appears in the earlier likeness, still it falls luxuriantly on the shoulders; the beard is short, but thick and strong.

In order to urge the confirmation of his pension Dürer followed the Emperor upon his coronation tour. On October 7th he arrived at Aachen, where he again met the "lords of Nürnberg," as he calls them, and drew the portraits of Ebner and Groland's son. On the 23rd the coronation took place, when he saw "all kinds of costly splendour" past description, such as no one living in his part of the country had ever seen.

But his object was not yet attained, and his Journal continues: "I had lodging, and eating, and drinking at Brussels with my lords of Nürnberg, and they would take nothing for it, and I had the same at Aachen. For three weeks I had my

meals with them, and they brought me to Cöln, and would take nothing for that either. I have bought a tract of Luther's for five white pfenning. . . . I have given two white pfenning for the opening of the panel which Maister Steffan of Cöln had done." This brief remark of Dürer's has led to the discovery of the painter of the celebrated *Dombild*, namely, Stephan Lochner, who lived in about the middle of the fifteenth century; it was previously attributed to Meister Wilhelm, the earliest painter of the Cöln school.

He goes on: "I have seen the princely ball and banquet given to King Charles in the banquet-hall. It was very wonderful. I have sketched for Stabius his coat-of-arms on wood. I have given a young Count in Cöln a *Melancolia*, and the Duke Frederick the new *Madonna*. . . . On the Monday after Martinmas, in the year 1520, I obtained my CONFIRMATIA from the Emperor with great trouble and labour through my lords of Nürnberg." This document is still preserved among the archives of Nürnberg. "I have given Niclas's daughter (this is his cousin Niclas) seven white pfenning as trinkgeld, one florin to Niclas's wife, and also an outh to the daughter as a parting present, and then I set out from Cöln."

After an absence of seven weeks Dürer returned again to Antwerp, and to his old quarters at Plankfelt's. He had scarcely arrived when the news came of a whale being cast on shore in Zealand, which he at once hurried off to see. At Bergen-op-Zoom he bought the Flemish head-dress in which his wife appears in the *Hulloot* portrait, the one with the inscription: "This was taken by Albrecht Dürer from his wife at Anttorff (Antwerp) in Netherlands' costume in 1521, after they had been married twenty-seven years." Age had made her a stout, matronly person.

On this voyage he had a very narrow escape, which he describes with great minuteness. They were landing at a small town called Armuyden on the island of Walcheren, and he says:

"When we were just going to land and had thrown out our rope, a large ship that was near came against us. We were just landing, and in the confusion I let every one get ashore before me, until there was no one but myself, Georg Kötzer, two old women, and the Master, with a little lad, remaining in the vessel. And just as the other ship came upon us, and I, with those named, were on the ship and could not get away, the strong rope broke; and added to that there was a great gust of wind which drove us hard astern. Then we all cried out for help, but no one dared to come. Then the wind carried us out to sea; the Master tore his hair and wept, for all his men had landed and the vessel was unmanned. There was anxiety and distress, for the wind was high, and there were not more than six people on board. Then I spoke to the Master and told him to keep up his spirits, put his trust in God, and think what was best to do. He said if he could hoist the small sail he would try if he could not get to land. So then we all helped together, got it up, and again moved on. And when the men ashore, who had already given us up, saw how we helped ourselves, they came to our assistance and we got to land." When Dürer got to his journey's end he was disappointed, for the whale had been washed away, and he had to return to Antwerp bearing with him the seeds of the disease which was eventually to carry him off. To make up for his disappointment he received some additions to his store of curiosities, in the shape of fish-scales, snail-shells, and coral from one Lazarus Ravensburger, whose portrait he painted.

On Carnival Sunday the goldsmiths invited him and his wife to a banquet. There was an assembly of distinguished people, and Dürer was treated with much respect and honour. He was likewise entertained by the chief magistrate of the place, and he assisted at the Carnival festivities.

A proof of the esteem in which his work was held is furnished by a commission which he received from the wealthy Meersche Guild. They wanted a cloth for the altar of their patron saint,

which was to be the most beautiful in the Cathedral. Designs were furnished by other artists, but Dürer's was accepted.

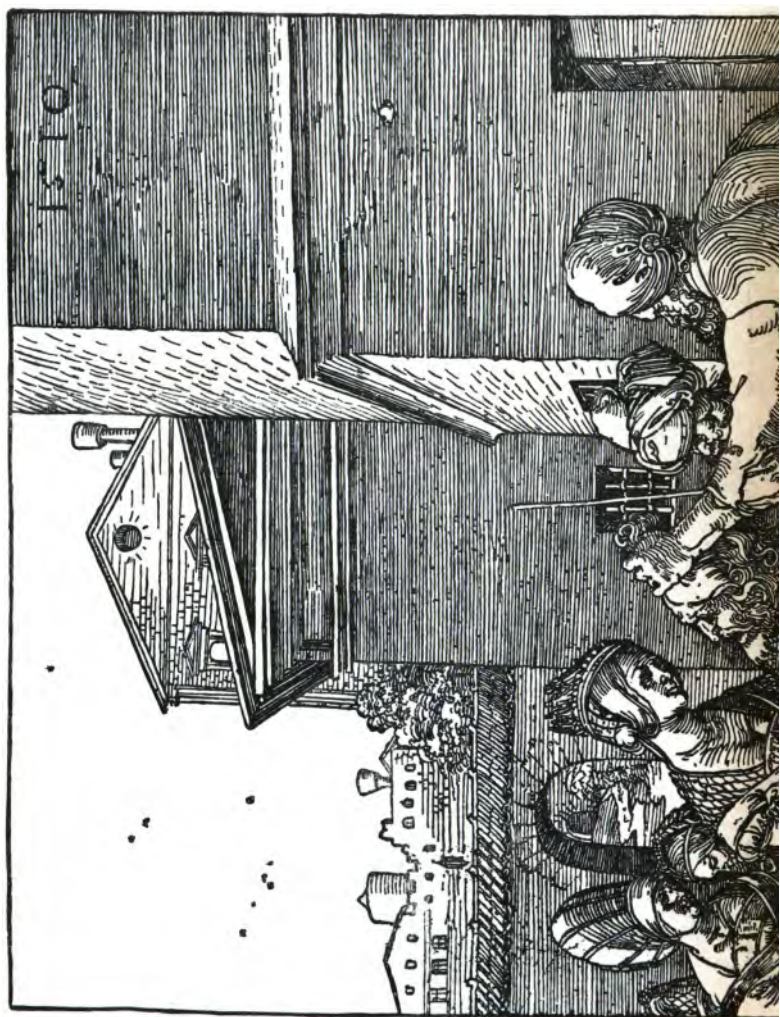
During his residence in Antwerp he was far from idle, and occupied himself with small pictures for presents, none of which, strangely enough, seem to be in existence now. Several paintings, too, he executed, and mentions "a good Veronica," which he did in oils, and presented to Francisco of Portugal, and also another, "better than the first," for Factor Brandan, a Portuguese also, who gave him "two white sugar-loaves, a dish full of sugar-candy, two green pots of preserved sugar, and some black satin." Of the portraits which he did at Antwerp one at least remains, which he mentions early in 1521: "I have taken in oils Bernhard von Ressen; he gave me eight gulden for it, my wife a crown, and Susanna a gulden."

He drew innumerable likenesses in pencil, on separate pages of his sketch-book, and also made several studies from the life; one of an old man, above which he has written, "This man was ninety-three years old, and still in good health." It is probably the sketch for the celebrated drawing in the Albertina Collection. His work was not all profitless, however, for as the circle of his friends enlarged so the sale of his productions increased, and if he did make presents he was disappointed if he did not receive an adequate return for them.

As spring came on he began to think of home, and prepared a number of gifts, the list of which is interesting, as it shows that his friends in Nürnberg were all people of importance, and moreover that he was on very intimate terms with them. There were pieces of lace for "Caspar Nützel's wife," some for "Hans Imhof's wife, to Sträuber's wife two, to Spengler's wife and to Löffelholz's wife." He bought a pair of gloves too for each of them, and gave to Pirkheimer "a large cap, and other presents," appropriate gifts to the husbands of the ladies mentioned above, and an exceedingly large horn to Hieronymus Andreae. He despatched a large bale of valuable things to the care of

Hans Imhof, and then set off for a hasty visit to the old art cities, Bruges and Ghent, in company with Jan Proost, whom he calls Ploos, the painter of the *Last Judgment* in the Assize Hall in the former city. Proost took him home with him and entertained him hospitably, and had a number of people to meet him. Another day he was the guest of the goldsmiths, who took him to see the old residence of the dukes of Burgundy, where he saw "the chapel painted by Rudiger (Roger van der Weyden) and pictures by a great old master." Then they took him to St. James's Church, where he saw more paintings by Roger and by Hugo van der Goes—"they were both great masters." After that he saw the alabaster *Madonna* of Michelangelo. It is remarkable that he makes no mention of Memling's pictures which are side by side with Jan van Eyck's in the hospital of St. John, and still more strange as there is a Memling *Madonna* on a leaf of his sketch-book, now in the Hall of Arts in Bremen. Of all the treasures which Dürer saw in the Painter's Chapel, there only remains Van Eyck's portrait of his wife. "Then," he says, "they prepared a banquet for me, and I went with them to their guild-chamber. There had met together several honourable people, merchants as well as goldsmiths and painters. I must sup with them, and they made me presents, sought to make my acquaintance and did me much honour. And two brothers, aldermen, presented me with twelve measures of wine, and the whole company, more than sixty persons, escorted me home with torches."

He was received with the same distinction in Ghent. The Decanus, the president of the Painters' Guild, with all the principal artists of the town, met him and received him nobly, never leaving him during the whole time of his stay in that city. They took him up to the top of the belfry-tower, and then to see the great Van Eyck altar-piece, *The Adoration of the Lamb*. He specially admired the figures of *Eve*, of the *Blessed Virgin*, and of *God the Father*, which are the work of Huibrecht van





THE BEHEADING OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, BY ALBRECHT DÜRER.

Eyck. He saw the *Lions*, too, and made a drawing of one, which has been engraved by Hollar, and is now in the Albertina Gallery.

Early in April he returned to Antwerp. He speaks of his acquaintance with Joachim Patenir and calls him "the good landscape painter." He painted his portrait several times; one excellent likeness dated 1521 is in the Weimar Museum. He was an honoured guest at Patenir's wedding-feast. Farther in his Journal he notes: "I have heightened four *S. Christophers* on grey paper for Maister Joachim. . . . I have taken the portrait of an English nobleman in charcoal; he has given me a gulden for it, which I have changed for living expenses. Item, Maister Gerhard, the illuminist, has a daughter eighteen years old called Susanna, and she has illuminated a plate, *A Saviour*, for which I gave one gulden. It is wonderful for a woman to do so well." These were the Horebouts, who afterwards were distinguished for their illuminations at the Court of Henry VIII. of England.

"I have sketched some Flemish costumes. . . . I have done the Englishman's coat-of-arms for him in colours, for which he has paid me a gulden. . . . I have over and over again done sketches and many other things for different people, and for most of my work I have received nothing at all. I saw the great procession which took place in Antwerp on Corpus Christi. . . . To the monk who confesses my wife I have given eight stiver. . . . On Wednesday after Corpus Christi I gave up my great bales at Antwerp to a waggoner to be taken to Nürnberg, and he is to be responsible to Hans Imhof for them."

Eight days after the festival he went to Mechlin to see the Lady Margaret. The painters and sculptors entertained him, did him great honour, but the archduchess dismissed him ungraciously after showing him "all her beautiful things;" amongst them some paintings of Jan van Eyck and Jakob Walch.

On his return to Antwerp there is an entry referring to Lucas van Leyden. "Maister Lucas, who engraves in copper, has

invited me ; he is a little man, and was born in Leyden ;" and another to the effect that in all his transactions in the Netherlands with people high and low, and in all his bargains and sales, in all his doing and living he had come off the worst, and he was particularly unfortunate in his relations with the Lady Margaret, who gave him nothing at all for all he gave her, and all that he did for her.

He was just starting away from Antwerp on the second of July, when Christian II., called the Bad, King of Denmark, sent for him in haste to come and take his portrait. Christian had come to visit his brother-in-law, Charles V. He was in the eyes of the Antwerp people a marvel of manliness and valour. He was very gracious to Dürer, and had him to dine with him. By the wish of the king, the artist followed him to Brussels and was a witness of the splendid reception which the Emperor and the Regent Margaret gave him, and was himself a guest at the banquet which Christian gave to his royal relatives.

At length, on the twelfth of July, 1521, Dürer set out from Brussels on his journey homewards. With his arrival at Cöln the journal comes to an end. From his manner of living in Antwerp, his liberality with his works, and the numberless presents which he made, we are not unprepared to find that he was obliged to draw upon Hans Imhof for an increase of his liability, which he promised to discharge with thanks in Nürnberg.

We possess a portrait by Dürer of the date 1521, painted in oil on wood, which is one of the most beautiful of his known portraits. It is in the Madrid Museum—the bust of a stout man in a black dress, edged with fur, and wearing a hat with broad brim. It is evidently not done with foreign colours nor in haste, but is the result of quiet work in Nürnberg, no doubt after his return home. There is a strong similarity in position, dress, and the occupation of the hands between this and an engraving of Hans Imhof, so that it is possible this may be a portrait of Dürer's honoured friend and banker.



CHAPTER X.

DÜRER'S POSITION IN NÜRNBERG—REFORMATION—PIRKHEIMER—
SPENGLER—FOUR TEMPERAMENTS—MELENCOLIA—S. JEROME—
KNIGHT, DEATH AND THE DEVIL—SPALATIN—DÜRER'S RE-
LIGIOUS BELIEF—MELANCHTHON—ERASMUS—FOUR APOSTLES.

THE evidence which Dürer's list of presents affords us of his intimate relation with people of eminence in Nürnberg is interesting, inasmuch as it throws light upon his predilections for the reformed doctrines which were rapidly gaining ground in the city, as it also reveals the social position which he enjoyed. Yet the love of this true child of Nürnberg—evidenced by his refusal, first of a lucrative offer from Venice, where he had lived the life of a gentleman, and secondly, from the city of Antwerp, where he had been received with so much honour—was but imperfectly reciprocated. In 1524 he wrote a touching letter to the Rath, urging them to grant him a yearly interest of 50 gulden upon 1000 which he had earned by "long years of work and extraordinary labour," so that he and his wife, who were beginning to feel the inconvenience which increase of years and toil bring with them, might have a moderate provision against want. During thirty years' residence this was all that he had saved. He had not received more than 500 gulden for work in his native town, and "not a fifth part of this was profit." What he possessed and had expended there he had

earned "from princes and foreigners." He had declined all emoluments out of love for his town and Fatherland, and "chose to live in a moderate manner in Nürnberg" rather than "to be rich and great in any other place." The most beautiful of his emblematic designs had been the arms of the city supported by two angels, with the national arms above a double eagle surmounted by the Imperial Crown. Figures of Justice and Abundance adorn the upper part, with an inscription—" *Sancta Justitia*," 1521. The wood-cut appears in the title-page of the 'Reform of the Town of Nürnberg,' a book of laws which was published in that year, and merited the patronage of S. Justitia. He had moreover exhibited his devotion to S. Sebald, the Nürnberg tutelary saint, in one of his finest wood-cuts, in 1518.

Still, if he lacked substantial possessions, he enjoyed all else which the city had to offer to him. He was admitted to the most intellectual and distinguished society, and the intimate companionship of the wealthiest burghers. He could reckon as a well-trying friend, the playfellow of his infancy, Wilibald Pirkheimer, the principal man in the State. The very diversities of their natures seem to have attracted them mutually. The pompous and headstrong scholar felt the gentle influence of the contemplative painter, while he accorded to him that amount of patronage and aid which elevated him into the higher regions of the nation's intellectual life. Another important ally of Dürer's, who lived near him, was the Nürnberg Reformer Spengler, one of the directing powers of the city. When Spengler brought out his translation of S. Jerome's life, Dürer adorned it with the charming wood-cut of the saint, and received as compensation the dedication of Spengler's 'Exhortation and Direction to Virtuous Conduct,' as his "particular, trusty, and brotherly friend." Spengler assures him, that "he knew him to be, without flattery, a man of intelligence, and disposed towards honesty and virtue, who in their daily and intimate companionship had often been to him in no small degree an incentive and a pattern."

He begs him to amend the work according to his judgment, and to consider him as ever "his friend and brother."

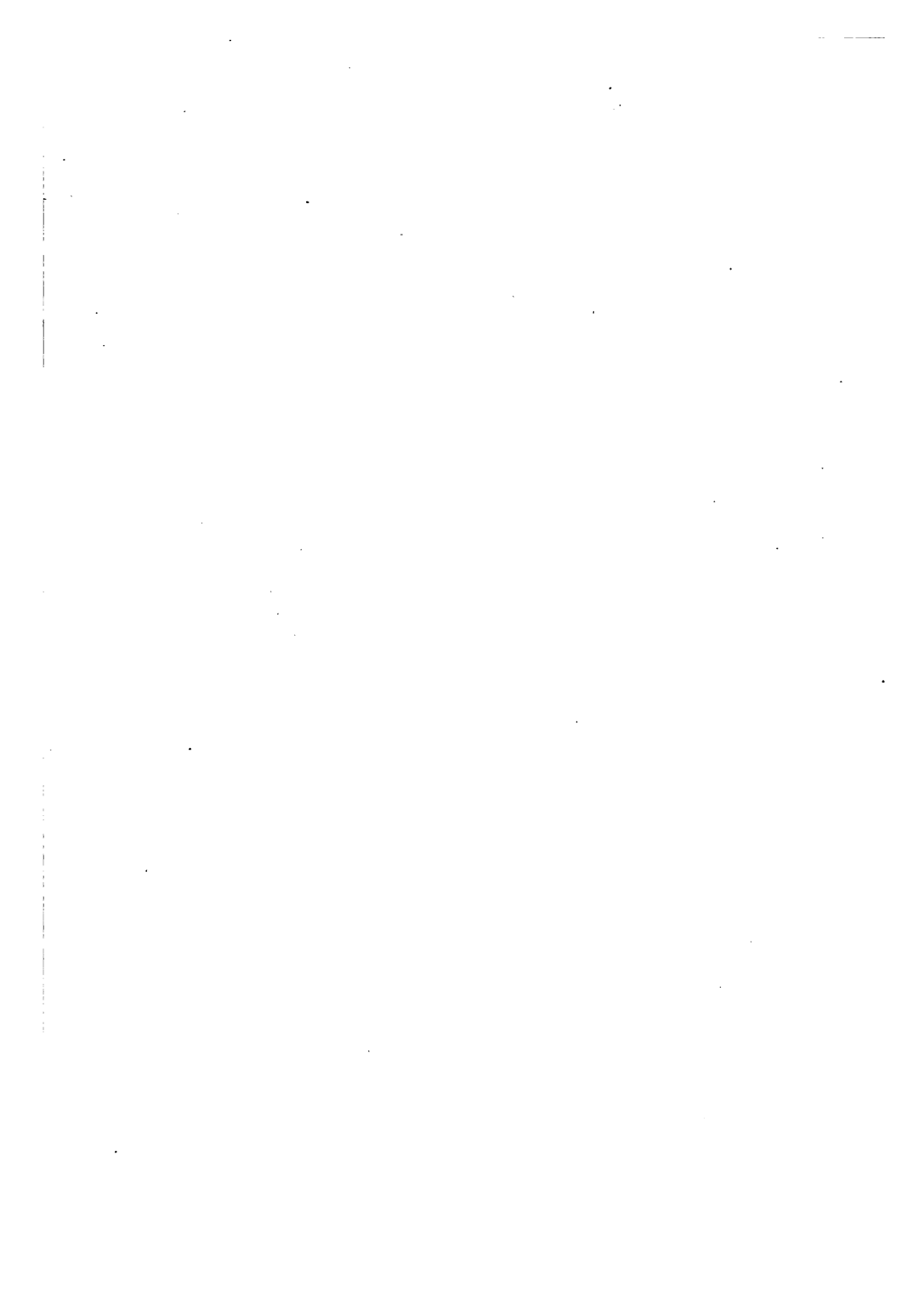
Pirkheimer's literary and scientific work often required the help of art, and Dürer was at hand to supply it. He provided many of his books with ornamental designs, and when, in 1525, the translation of Ptolemæus appeared, he furnished those sphere-drawings which Tscherte mentions in two letters to Pirkheimer as being "drawn by our friend Albrecht Dürer."

In 1514 Dürer had commenced a series of apostolic figures, which occupied him for ten years, but were never completed, though in combination with that other conception of the same date, the *Four Temperaments*, it was the origin of his last and greatest work of art. Dürer adopts the received theory respecting the *Temperaments* without reserve, and on one occasion explains minutely the outward manifestations of their existence and the necessity of considering them especially in relation to the suitability of youths dedicated to the service of art.

He devoted himself to the investigation and illustration of the theory, and the result was the production of those copper-engravings which exhibit the fulness of his creative power, and the perfection of his skill, *Melencolia*; *S. Jerome in the Cell*; *The Horseman*, known as *The Knight, Death and the Devil*. The first two date from 1514, the last 1513, though the study for the Knight—the figure and armour of a Nürnberg warrior—was made 15 years before, and that for the horse somewhat later. These leaves from Dürer's art history have challenged the admiration of the critic and baffled the investigation of the speculative for ages, and are still as hard as ever to read. "All that we know is, nothing can be known;" is not this the feeling which possesses the soul of that unsatisfied woman, who sits with her cheek resting on her left hand, while the right falls upon a closed book hardly retaining its hold of the compass which has measured out nothing for her? Her hair is unbound, though it just keeps up the laurel crown upon her

brow. Every imaginable implement of art, of lawful and of unlawful science, lies about her,—each has been used in vain ; the magic crystal has disclosed nothing ; the figures on the wall, each row ever exhibiting the mystical number 34, have been reckoned over and over again to no purpose ; the heavens show a comet and a rainbow, but no more ; the bat which hovers over the water holds outstretched a scroll on which is written *Melencolia I.* By her side there perches upon a grindstone the form of a winged child, like a desponding Cupid whose frolics are over. Sphinx-like she sits ever, a woman disdaining her womanhood, weighed down with thought, yet restlessly looking into the unsolved mysteries of existence, while the great wings which she bears seem eager to essay another flight into the darkness of the inscrutable.

The number I. upon the scroll seems to show that this plate is the first of the series of the *Temperaments* which begins with Melancholy, and there is little doubt that the beautiful *S. Jerome in his Chamber* is another. The motive of it is calm repose and peace obtained by a solitude occupied with holy employment. The room is a convent-cell, but appropriately furnished and sufficiently lighted. The grand old man sits at one end of the room writing at an oak table. On the wall behind him hangs a cardinal's hat by the side of an hour-glass, and the white glory beneath brings out the fine head of the saint as he writes. Before him at the other end of the table is a crucifix, upon which his eye may rest when he looks up from his work. In the window-sill is a skull. A huge pumpkin with a leaf and stalk breaks the lines of the oaken beams in the ceiling. The feeling of repose is increased by the blinking lion and a watch-dog stretched out and fast asleep in the foreground. There are wooden benches and cushions lying here and there upon them, there is a shelf upon one wall for articles of domestic use, and a strap nailed up beneath it to hold his papers and a pair of scissors. S. Jerome is entirely engrossed in his work—a type of the Phlegmatic Temperament.

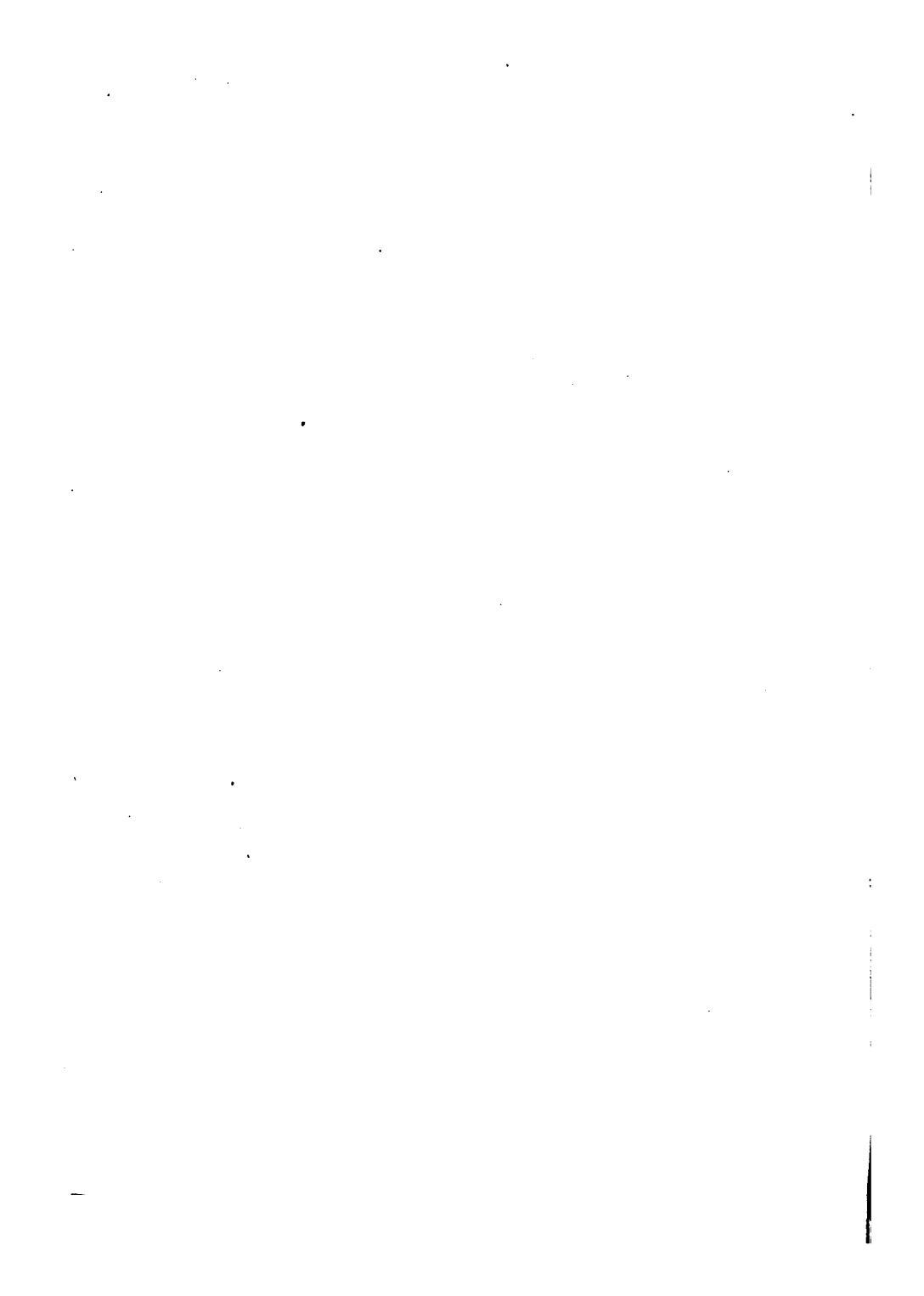






THE KNIGHT, DEATH, AND THE DEVIL. BY ALBRECHT DÜRER.

From the Engraving on copper.



The third plate, of the same size as the other two, which has always been held to be one of Dürer's finest works, is an illustration of the tendency of the German mind at this time. It is *The Knight, Death and the Devil*; it is also called *The Christian Knight*, and *The Knight of the Reformation*. A knight is riding alone through a gloomy defile. He is in full armour, and bears a lance in his hand. A little in front of him on a lame horse goes the grisly form of Death with an hour-glass in his hand, the sand almost run out, which he holds up in face of the knight. On the other side of the horse-man is a horrible fiend, who stretches out his hand ready to clutch his prey. But the rider goes straight forward, with a set look of determination upon his face, not heeding his unwelcome companions. He is ready for combat with any enemy who comes direct in his way, but has no eye for those by his side. Death cannot daunt him nor Satan lay hold of him as he goes right on towards "the prize of his high calling." Some have recognized in him Franz von Sickingen, and others the artist's friend Stephan Baumgärtner, simply because of the letter S. which stands before the date, but if we are right in the interpretation of the other pictures this S. may well stand for *Sanguine* (*Sanguinicus*), as Thausing appropriately suggests.

It is not difficult to trace again in this last plate the effect of the religious spirit which came over the Humanist society at Nürnberg under the influence of Lutheran teaching. Among the first to declare for the great Reformer were many of Dürer's friends, Pirkheimer, Spengler and others, and with the movement he himself had the warmest sympathy, though still a member of the Roman Church, and a participator in the benefits of her sacraments. In his journal there are several records of money paid to his own confessor, and to his wife's. Yet even in 1518 Luther had received presents of Dürer's work, which he warmly acknowledged, and in the same year Christoph Scheurl tells Staupitz of the congregation which enjoyed the preaching of Wenzel Link, mentioning by name Dürer himself

and many whom we know as his intimate friends, "all longing for a greeting from Luther."

In a letter to Georg Spalatin, chaplain to the Elector Frederick, at the beginning of 1520, Durer says, "As you mention the little book in defence of Martin, you must know that there are no more ready, but they are in print at Augsburg. I will send you some as soon as they are ready, but this little book, though it has been done here, has been decried from the pulpit as heretical and fit for the flames." Still more significant of his state of mind are the passages in the same letter in which he sends his thanks to the Elector for Luther's book which he had sent him, and begs his Grace to submit to the teaching of the Reformer "for the sake of Christian truth, which is of more importance to us than all the riches and power of this world, for all that perishes with time, truth alone abides for ever."

When abroad he was always eager for Luther's writings, and was on intimate terms with the priests of the Augustine monastery in Antwerp, of which Erasmus writes to Luther:—"In the Antwerp monastery is a prior, a pure Christian, who loves you above measure, and was, he says, your pupil." The prior and monks of this monastery were imprisoned in 1522 for disseminating reformed doctrines.

Dürer's friends Pirkheimer and Spengler, were among the boldest to espouse Luther's cause, and consequently among the first against whom a blow was struck from Rome. The former had been the apologist of Reuchlin, and the latter, in 1519, had upheld the Christian character of Luther's teaching against the attacks of the Church party. After the dispute between the great Reformer and Dr. Eck at Leipzig, Pirkheimer held up the champion of the Roman faith to ridicule, and when Eck returned from Rome with the Bull against Luther he had the satisfaction of knowing that the names of his two bold supporters were inserted in the terrible document.

Dürer's own confession of faith appears again in those passages

from his journal which we purposely omitted in their proper place in order to insert them here.

"On the Friday before Whitsuntide (May 17) in the year 1521, the tidings reached me in Antwerp that Martin Luther had been treacherously taken prisoner. For as the herald of the Emperor Charles had been added to the Imperial escort confidence was placed in him. But after the herald had brought him to an unfriendly place near Eisenach, he said he required him no longer and rode away. Immediately ten horsemen appeared, and treacherously carried off the man thus betrayed, the pious, the Spirit-enlightened one, the follower of the true Christian faith. Does he still live, or have they murdered him? This I know not. But he has suffered for the sake of Christian truth, and because he has punished the unchristian papacy, which opposes its great burden of human laws to the liberty of Christ; and for this we are robbed of that which our blood and sweat has won, that it may be shamefully consumed by idle people, while the thirsty and the sick are dying of hunger in consequence. And especially hard it is to me that God will perhaps leave us under their false, blind teaching, which men, whom they call Fathers, have invented and set up; whereby the precious word of God is in many places falsely explained or not set forth at all. Ah! God in heaven, have mercy upon us!" and so on in the ordinary style of the time; but we get an insight into the life of a soul which dreams of Christian union not even yet realised.

Farther on in the Journal he bursts forth, "Ah! God, is Luther dead? Who will henceforth expound the Holy Gospel to us so plainly? Ah, God! what might he not have written for us in the next ten or twenty years. Oh! all good Christian men, help me to bewail the God-inspired being, and to pray that he will send us another enlightened man. Oh! Erasmus of Rotterdam, where wilt thou tarry? See what unrighteous tyranny, the power of the world, the power of darkness, can do!

Hear, Christian knight, ride forth with the Lord Jesus, defend the right, obtain the martyr's crown!—thou art already an old mannikin, and I have heard thee say that thou givest thyself only two years longer in which thou wilt be able to work. Dedicate these years to the cause of the Gospel and the true Christian Faith."

Dürer identified in his mind the Reformers with the Humanists. When he was calling upon this little great man of Rotterdam to come to the help of Christ, he knew nothing of the divisions which were going on, and certainly mistook for a hero the man, who two years afterwards at Basle, fearing for his own reputation, refused an asylum to Ulrich von Hutten, when under the ban of the Pope—the man whom Luther in his own manner once called, "an enemy of all religions."

At the time of Dürer's return from the Netherlands, the contest between the extreme religious parties was not so great. The Rath decided in 1524 to establish a High School, and to make Melancthon Rector, but he declined the post and named Joachim Cammermeister (or Camerarius) in his stead, though he often came to Nürnberg to supervise, and was the centre of a pleasant society which assembled in the evening, and included such men as Hesse, Roting, Spengler, and the priests Venatorius and Wenzel Link.

A letter from Nicolaus Kratzer shows that Dürer kept up the friendships which he made in the Netherlands. In his answer to the Astronomer he speaks of two portraits, dated 1524. They were masterpieces of art, the likenesses of his oldest patron the *Electeur Frederick*, and of *Pirkheimer*. He has rendered his friend immortal in all the greatness of his energy and philosophic character before physical pain had damped his ardour, and the tumult of Reformation controversy had agitated his mind. He had almost withdrawn from society, when in 1524 he dictated the inscription for his portrait: *vivitur ingenio, cætera mortis erunt*. The Humanist in his declining years was troubled with a vision of the overthrow of knowledge which was threatened by the Reformation, and as a statesman he was terrified by the

violence and confusion about him which followed upon the promulgation of Lutheran doctrine. He felt the effects in his immediate family, for the convent of which his sisters were at the head became a mark for the insults of the citizens. He hated such expounders of Church guidance as the preacher Osiander, and even his friend Spengler incurred his indignation. Thus, gradually, the brilliant and wealthy Pirkheimer assumed towards the Reformation the attitude of Erasmus of Rotterdam. It is not, however, fair to assume that Dürer followed blindly in the footsteps of his patrician friend. True it was that "they were closely united even to being indispensable to each other and even unto death," true that Dürer's praise was "like music" to the ear of his friend, as Ulrich von Hutten says, yet each was too self-sufficient to allow himself to be drawn along helplessly by the other.

Melanchthon, who, when a visitor at Pirkheimer's house, often met Dürer and spoke of him as "a wise man, in whom the artistic element, prominent as it was, was still the least," throws much light upon the mutual relations of the two friends. When the scholar, by a pamphlet against Ecolampadius, took part in the quarrel about the Lord's Supper, there were often disputes between them in which Pirkheimer repeatedly used to retort to Dürer's attacks, "That cannot be painted;" and the artist would reply, "And what you say should not be said or even thought." If Dürer could not adopt Pirkheimer's opinions, still less could he attach himself to the revolutionary party in the city, and he must have been deeply moved by the part which was taken by three of his best pupils, Georg Pencz, and the brothers Sebald and Barthel Beham. These "three godless painters" were banished from the city for their dangerous opinions. His wood-cutter, too, Andreae, was a source of great trouble to the Rath. This man had obtained such celebrity that he adopted the name of his calling, "Formschneider," instead of Andreae.¹

¹ Among Dürer's drawings in the British Museum is a portrait of a young woman, Fronica 1525, Formschneiderin.

The terrible effect of passing events upon Dürer is evidenced by a vision which he had on the 30th of May, 1525, which he transferred to paper in watercolours the next morning. The sketch is in the Ambras Collection in Vienna. He describes it thus: "Immense volumes of water kept on falling from heaven, but as the first drops reached the ground, it fell with such force, and then came on a wind and a rushing noise, and I was so terrified that when I awoke my whole body trembled and for a long time I could not come to myself. However, when I arose in the morning, I painted it here above as I saw it. May God direct all for the best."

Between Melanchthon and Dürer there was naturally the deepest sympathy. They probably met first in 1518 at Pirkheimer's house, and the friendship which began then was more closely cemented during the reformer's subsequent visits to Nürnberg in 1525 or 1526. We have to thank this friendship to which Camerarius was admitted for the most trustworthy accounts of Dürer. Luther says of Melanchthon, "Magister Philippus goes softly and quietly, builds and plants, sows and waters with joy, as God has given him his gifts richly;" and such a man appears in Dürer's portrait of 1526, bareheaded, with a lofty brow and gentle smile. The plate bears the inscription:

Viventis potuit Dürerius ora Philippi,
Mentem non potuit pingere docta manus.

His feelings while working at the portrait of his friend were widely different to those which he felt for Erasmus, whose likeness he engraved on copper in the same year. Dürer had taken sketches of him in Brussels in 1520, and in the interval Erasmus had repeatedly urged the completion of the picture in letters to Pirkheimer, which abounded in praises of the artist, but the recollection of the philosopher's features had become faint, so that the truthfulness of the likeness is unequal to its merit as a work of art. It is half-length, and Erasmus is sitting in a satin

robe writing at a desk surrounded by ponderous tomes. These portraits are the last of Dürer's engravings, but we must mention among his latest achievements the celebrated portrait of his "single friend" *Ulrich Varenbüler*, dated 1522, the largest and greatest of his wood-cuts in that style. The Imperial Councillor was a valued friend of Erasmus and Pirkheimer, and his name appears frequently in their letters. There is an inscription by Dürer, to the effect that he desires to render those whom he specially loves famous to posterity. In 1525 he displayed his own coat of arms, the same as those which his father bore, in a large wood-cut; and probably to 1526 must be assigned the likeness of his friend *Eoban Hesse*. His last religious representation in wood-cutting is of the same date, the *Holy Family*, with the children playing in the foreground. In the same year he painted the *Madonna* once more, the picture in the Uffizi, in which the Virgin holds an apple in her hand, and likewise three life-sized portraits, one of *Kleberger* who afterwards married Pirkheimer's favourite daughter, the widow of Hans Imhof, and deserted her, but who subsequently merited the name of "bon Allemand," and a statue in Lyons. The second portrait was that of *Jakob Mussel*, and the third that grand portrait of *Hieronymus Holtzschuher* which is still in possession of the family in Nürnberg, one of the most valuable memorials of the artist's power. It is now, on loan, in the Germanic Museum.

Now towards the close of his art-life he seems to have been possessed with that desire to perpetuate the recollection of his friends before his hand had lost its cunning, but there was yet another ambition, to bequeath to his native city a memorial of his genius and of his faith. The thought of the *Four Apostles* or *Four Temperaments* had been growing in his mind for ten years, and at last revealed itself in those two panels in Munich which display the perfection of art. His studies for this picture had been his great delight; witness the water-colour sketches of *S. Philip* and *S. James* in the Uffizi, the *S. Mark* in the

Hulot collection, and the *S. Peter* in the marvellous pencil-drawing in the Albertina Gallery. Each of the panels is occupied by the full-length figure of an apostle and his companion. Dürer took the greatest pains with the drapery, for no artist ever knew better how much the character of a figure may be indebted to the fold of a garment.

It is a contemporary of the artist and a man who personally knew him, Johann Neudörffer, who first mentions that the four figures meant the four temperaments—S. John the type of the Melancholic, and S. Peter of the Phlegmatic, occupying the one panel; S. Paul, type of the Choleric, and S. Mark of the Sanguine, occupying the other. It is worthy of remark that the prominent figures in either panel are S. John and S. Paul. The beloved disciple is lost in contemplation, not looking into the open Bible, which he holds in his hand; but S. Peter bends forward as if with the desire to read. There is said to be in the S. John a likeness to Melanchthon.

On the other half is depicted Dürer's special hero, the apostle to the Gentiles, one of those figures so grand as only to bear comparison with the artist's idea of the Christ. He is the warrior ready for battle, the man whose self no longer exists, but the Christ lives in him and fills his whole being, whose whole energy is devoted to the task of apprehending Him by whom he is apprehended. That there might be no mistake as to the meaning of his paintings, Dürer appended texts from the writings of each of the apostles with an introduction of warning: "All temporal rulers in these perilous times must take care not to accept human misleading for the Divine word, for God will have nothing added to His word or taken away. Then listen to the warnings from these four excellent men, Peter, John, Paul, and Mark." The texts refer to false prophets, and perilous times, to Antichrist, and those who "were ever learning but never able to come to a knowledge of the truth," to the men who "devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers." Here is



ST. JOHN AND ST. PETER. ST. PAUL AND ST. MARK.
BY ALBRECHT DÜRER.

In the Pinakothek, Munich.

a distinct protest against the new sects, the Anabaptists and Deists, which Dürer puts in the mouths of the more contemplative of the apostles, while the men of energy are ready to do battle with older enemies, the followers of a world philosophy, and with immoral priests.

Dürer placed this distinct warning under each picture because he intended the panels to remain for ever in his native town. In the autumn of 1526 he sent them to the Rath with a letter, saying that he had long wished to send some painting of small merit as a remembrance, but that he had been deterred from doing so from the "defects of his works," for he knew that he should not appear with credit before them. "But as I have during this past time painted a panel, and have been more diligent over it than over other paintings, I consider no one more worthy of receiving it than your honours."

The Rath accepted his pictures, and presented him with 100 gulden. For a century they remained in the Rathhaus till the Elector Maximilian coveted them too eagerly. Copies of them were made by Georg Gärtner so good that when they were sent to Maximilian, it was hoped that he would choose them instead of the damaged originals, to which also were affixed the inscriptions so distasteful to the priests at Munich.

Maximilian, however, chose the genuine paintings, but cut off the inscriptions and sent them back with the copies to Nürnberg where they still hang in the Rathhaus.



CHAPTER XI.

DÜRER'S ILLNESS AND DEATH—TOMB—TESTIMONY TO HIM FROM LUTHER AND OTHERS—HIS LITERARY PRODUCTIONS—INSTRUCTION IN MENSURATION—FORTIFICATION—ART OF FENCING—HUMAN PROPORTION—FOOD FOR YOUNG PAINTERS—QUOTATIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS—REFLECTIONS.

THE later part of Dürer's life was full of the weariness which continued sickness causes. Though never apparently a strong man, and ever liable to attacks of illness, he was unsparing of himself, and his constitution was no doubt impaired by the extraordinary demands which he made upon his powers. It was, however, the Netherlands journey which permanently destroyed his health, and laid the seeds of disease which carried him off prematurely. We call to mind the hardships, the exposure and the fatigue of his journeyings, the irregularity of the life which he led, and the excesses to which, almost despite himself, he gave way in accepting the hospitality which was offered to him. The costly feasts and the tankards of wine, so frequently mentioned in the Journal, could not have been good for a man of such a delicate organization. His first serious illness happened during that dangerous Zealand journey in search of the whale, and when at Ghent he notes: "In the third week after Easter a hot fever attacked me, accompanied with faintness, and uncomfortable feelings and headache. And when I was in Zealand, some time

back, I was overtaken by an extraordinary illness, the like of which I have never heard of from any one, and this illness I have still."

There is a coloured sketch of himself by his own hand in the Hall of Arts at Bremen, half-naked, and the right hand pointing to a round, yellow spot on his left side. Above he has written the words, "Where the yellow spot is on which I put my finger, there it pains me," no doubt for a consultation with his doctor by writing.

Dürer's illness did not entirely keep him from work, till just before his death; but he was obliged to abstain in part from social intercourse which involved indulgence in eating and drinking, too common at that time in Nürnberg, especially at the house of such a man as Pirkheimer. We get an idea of his emaciated appearance from a large profile portrait which was published after his death in a woodcut (1528). It is the portrait of the master at 56, prematurely aged, and much changed. The nose and cheek-bones are strikingly prominent, the hair and beard no longer retaining their luxuriance, the fine head of former years is bent forward, and exhibits little sign of the power which has departed. The likeness is that of a feeble, worn-out man, sinking into his grave before his time. The sketch was no doubt taken after his death, and probably from a cast, for, according to an existing manuscript in the Nürnberg Museum, his grave was opened by some artists the day after his burial in order that a cast of the face might be taken.

No record of his last moments has come to us from any one who was present; but we remember the prayer which he uttered at the time of his mother's death,—“The Lord God grant that I also may have a happy end, and that God, with His heavenly host, my father, mother and friends, will be present at my death,” and we feel sure that his prayer was granted. He died in Passion-week, on the 6th of April, 1528, in his 57th year, and was buried in the vault of the Frey family, in the quiet cemetery of S. John outside the city walls. The simple inscription upon

his tombstone was placed there by Pirkheimer, who, a few years afterwards, was laid to rest in a grave almost by the side of his friend "even unto death."

ME . AL . DU
 QUICQUID ALBERTI DURERI MORTALE
 FUIT, SUB HOC CONDITUR TUMULO .
 EMIGRAVIT . VIII . IDUS APRILIS.
 M.D.XXVIII.



He died so suddenly and unexpectedly, that not even Pirkheimer had time to hasten as he would have done to his bedside, for "that tender farewell on the shore of this rude world," and bitterly he bewails it—"Thou who for so many years wast so closely united to me, Albrecht, my soul's better part, with whom I enjoyed dear discourse, who didst treasure my words in a faithful bosom ! Why, unhappy one, didst thou hurry away with swift, never-returning step. I was not allowed to touch the dear head, to clasp the hand, or say a last farewell to the departing one, for scarcely hadst thou entrusted thy weary limbs to thy bed, than death snatched thee away in haste."

There is preserved in Nürnberg a skull, which was found early in the present century, and believed, but on no reliable ground, to be Albrecht's ; for when the Frey family became extinct the vault was at the disposal of the hospital, and received several inmates, till Joachim Sandrart bought it in 1681, and decked it with an inscription, intended to be a contribution to the glory of Dürer, bequeathed it to the Academy which he founded, and it became a resting-place for foreign artists. There is, however, a sacred relic in Vienna, the wrapper of which at least is genuine, for it has the signature of each successive.

owner. It is said to be the lock of hair which was cut off after Dürer's death and given to his friend Baldung.

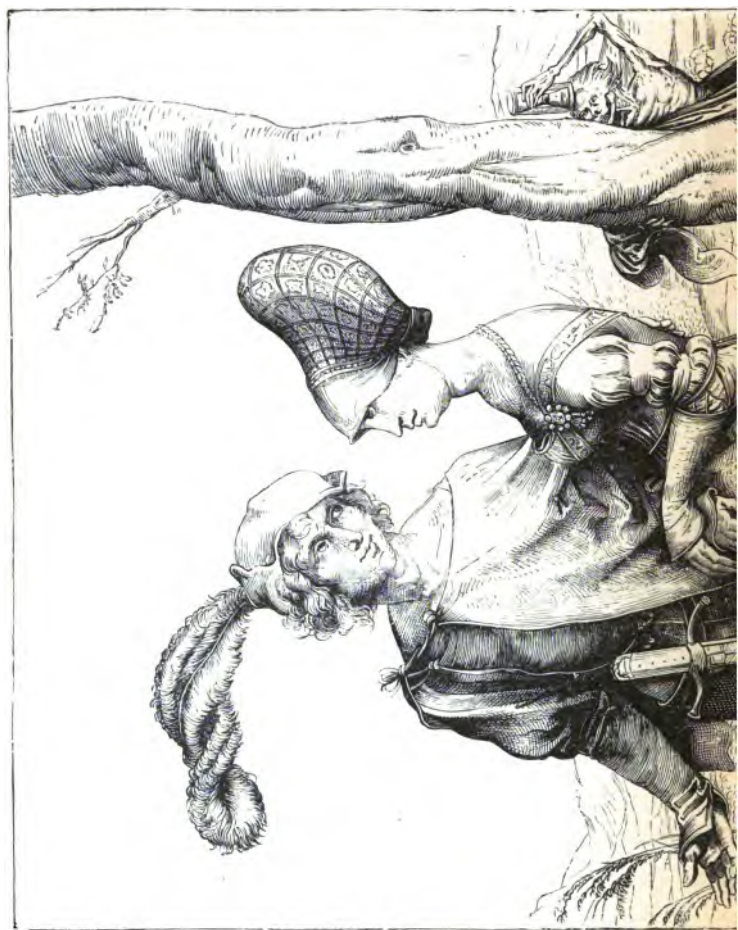
The testimony of men whose names are known to fame, to the universal regret which the death of Dürer caused, makes his historical position undeniable.

"You may count him happy," says Luther, "that Christ so enlightened him and took him in good time from stormy scenes, destined to become still stormier, so that he who was worthy of seeing only the best should not be compelled to experience the worst. So may he rest in peace with his fathers. Amen." Melancthon would not at first believe the sad news, and when he was able to doubt no longer, he could only say to Camerarius, "It grieves me to see Germany deprived of such an artist and such a man." On the other hand, Erasmus, in a letter to Pirkheimer, contents himself with such words as these—"What is the use of lamenting Dürer's death, since we are all mortal? There is a memorial to him existing in my little book;" and then, after immortalizing him in this way, proceeds with some amusing reports which were being circulated. His indifference is in marked opposition to the manner in which Pirkheimer had poured out his heart to him in the midst of the desolation which the loss of his friend had created. Camerarius says of Dürer in the Preface to the 'Lessons in Proportion,' which has been mentioned before: "If there were in this man anything approaching to a fault, it was simply the endless industry and the self-criticism which he indulged in, often even to injustice."

When death found Dürer he was occupied no longer in the production of art results, but in a search after its fundamental principles, by which means he hoped to render his last days serviceable to his country and to posterity. To this end he devoted himself to collecting and publishing the thoughts which had been growing from his childhood, and the lessons which careful study and long experience had taught him. "An unlearned man is like an unpolished mirror," he once said to

Melanchthon ; and he has left abundant evidence that he spared no pains to keep his brightness untarnished. It was not in his later years alone that he began his theoretical studies. As far back as the year 1500, we may remember that he was interested in this subject when he speaks of the information which he had obtained from a certain Jacopo.

The first book which he published was the 'Instruction in Mensuration, with compass and rule in lines, planes and solids, compiled by Albrecht Dürer, and printed, with illustrations, for the use of all lovers of art, in the year 1525.' It consists of a course of lectures in geometry as an appendix to Euclid's Elements. He explains in the preface that those who understand Euclid had no need of "the following written things," for they are only written for the young and those who had no one to instruct them carefully. Many young painters, he remarks in the dedication, grow up without a knowledge of the art of mensuration, though it is "the true foundation of all painting." He illustrated this book richly with wood-cuts, for he said, "Anything which you see is more credible than what you hear ; but when it is both seen and heard, we comprehend it more perfectly, and it remains with us more durably ; therefore I will construct the work so that people may be able so much the better to keep it in memory." In it he describes an instrument which he invented for taking portraits by rule, to assist those who were not sure of the accuracy of their drawings. In 1538 a second edition was printed, with additional wood-cuts from Dürer's collection, and several editions of the Latin translation have appeared. In 1527 Dürer appears, like Leonardo, as a writer upon the art of fortification in his book entitled 'Instructions in Fortifying Cities, Castles and Towns.' It is dedicated to Ferdinand I., from whose grandfather Maximilian he received so many marks of favour. The work is divided into six parts. The first three contain plans for building bastions, the fourth treats of castles, the fifth of forts to command a Pass, the sixth exhibits the method of rendering open towns secure. The





THE KNIGHT AND THE LADY. BY ALBRECHT DÜRER.

From the Engraving on copper.

work is adorned with excellent wood-cuts, among which, on the title-page, appears the arms of King Ferdinand. His theories were by no means universally accepted by his contemporaries, though here and there were found supporters. Some of the fortifications of Strasburg were built according to his instructions, and the celebrated architect, Daniel Specklin, adopted his ideas, and made them the basis of a system of fortifications which has been more or less recognized by all German engineers. A Latin translation of his book by Camerarius appeared in Paris in 1535, a copy of the original in 1603 at Arnheim. In 1823 an edition, with valuable commentary, was published in Berlin, and a splendid book, a translation into French, appeared in Paris in 1870. At the same time he executed the wonderful wood-cut which is sometimes called, without regard to chronology, *Dürer's Vienna*. It represents a view of a fortified town, which is being besieged, and, apart from its value as a work of art, must be taken with his book as illustrative of his theory.

The above are the only two out of 150 books or pamphlets which Camerarius assures us Dürer wrote, and which were fully prepared during his life-time.

A work on the art of Fencing has come to light in late years, containing a series of sketches illustrating various attitudes and positions, together with a code of laws to be adopted by those who cultivated the arts of fencing and wrestling.

The work of the greatest importance, and the one which had occupied his mind for many years, seems to have been inspired by Pirkheimer, to whom it was dedicated. The title of it runs thus:—"Herein are contained four books of Human Proportion, invented and described by Albrecht Dürer of Nürnberg, for the use of all who love this art." MDXXVIII. The author only lived to see the first book in the press, and the inscription on the manuscript in the Dresden Library, "1523, at Nürnberg, this is Albrecht Dürer's first book, which he himself has made," is a proof that it was written earlier than

the other books; and some of the sketches for it date back even to 1500.

The entire work was published after his death, under the editorship of Pirkheimer. Dürer appears to adopt two separate systems in measuring the human body. The one was by division of the whole length of the body into certain fractional parts, the other by a scale of 600 parts, similar to that employed by Leo Battista Alberti, whose manuscript work Dürer is said to have seen in Venice. In the third he altered, according to fixed rules, the measurements which he had obtained from experiment; and by increasing or diminishing certain of the proportions he obtained ludicrous figures, which were thinner or stouter than they should naturally have been. These alterations he classified and arranged in pairs,—great and small, young and old, fat and thin,—and calls these epithets “expressions of distinction.” In the fourth book he treats of the different movements of the limbs and of the principles of fore-shortening.

Dürer contents himself solely with that which is outwardly manifest, and refrains from entering upon the wonderful construction of the limbs and joints, and the arrangements for their motion, because “this is known to those who study anatomy, and I will let them tell about it.”

The work which Hogarth alludes to in his ‘Analysis of Beauty’ as calculated to puzzle the man who attempts to follow the elaborate rules laid down, is still of value to those who have the patience to read it. That it was appreciated in its day is shown by the numerous editions and translations which appeared. The Latin one by Camerarius (1532–34) is most interesting from the biographical sketch contained in the preface, from which we have made extracts, and which was translated into Italian and Spanish. A French translation appeared in Paris (1557), and Dutch translations in 1622 and 1662, and a curious English version in London (1666) called ‘A. Dürer revived: or a book of Drawing, Washing, or Colouring of Mapps or Prints.’

For some time Dürer had entertained the idea of a large encyclopædic work, which should be a sort of complete art-educator. The two books which we have mentioned are really fragments of it. The work was to be entitled 'Food for Young Painters.' The materials for it he was collecting in 1512 and 1513, or even earlier, and he proposes to treat of the "proportions of man, of the proportions of horses, of the proportions of buildings, of perspective, of light and shade, and of the colours" such as nature employs. In his preface he says, "By the help and grace of God for the use of all little ones, who are willing to learn what they must do, all that which I by my experience have found to be of use to painters," and so on. Doubtless this was the great scheme which he had in view, and partly completed; and among his papers are numerous notes of sketches for all that he proposed to accomplish.

He made careful studies too in the proportions of the horse, as we can judge from the origin of the celebrated *Knight*; and from Camerarius's preface we learn that Dürer had commenced a treatise upon the subject, but that it was lost through the faithlessness of certain people, and that he did not care to write it again. Dürer knew well who these people were, but for peace sake he would not proceed against them. The suspected men were Sebald Beham and Andreae, and evil reports of them became current directly after the master's death. The latter misused the power entrusted to him in the printing of the work; and when it became known that, in conjunction with Beham, he would also publish a work upon "Proportion," the Rath forbade its publication, "on peril of life and property," until Dürer's work was completed. Beham accordingly produced only a little work upon the proportions of the horse in 1528, which he judiciously altered so that it should not betray its origin; and also in the treatise, which he published in 1546, upon human proportions he is careful to avoid all the suspicions of Dürer's friends to which he and Andreae had laid themselves open.

The greater part of the manuscript of this work is in the British Museum, along with other volumes of Dürer's writings, notes and sketches upon a variety of subjects—writings which are interesting in their relation to his productions. This indeed is the character of all writing from his hand which has come down to us in its disconnected form, all full of that interest which must attach to a figure of such distinct historical importance. His life is revealed to us by the flashes of mental and spiritual light which was ever shooting forth in the midst of his labour. His thoughts are rather suggestions for an art system than the system itself; they are springs from an inner fountain, supplied from the source of all that is highest and noblest in man,—gleams of light which flash only upon the soul that is ever turning towards its God.

With a profound veneration for the art and wisdom of the ancients, he regrets the period of decline, and hails all the efforts which were made for their revival. "In what honour and dignity this art was held by the Greeks and Romans is satisfactorily proved by ancient writings, although in course of time it was lost and hidden for over a thousand years, and only two hundred years ago again brought to light by the Italians." These words occur in his dedication of the mensuration book; and again in 1513 he writes, "The great art of painting was held in high respect by the powerful kings of many hundred years ago; for they conferred wealth upon their artists who excelled, and held them in high esteem, for they thought that their wealth of fancy was an endowment common to them and God. For a good painter is within full of forms, and if it were possible that he could live for ever, he would have, from his innermost ideas, of which Plato writes, at all times something new to pour forth through his works."

But it was from nature, that Dürer sought the fountains of the beautiful, and the limits which she set he would have no one overstep. "Let every one take care to make nothing which

is impossible to nature and which she would not endure. If all beauty is enclosed in nature, the greatest difficulty is for human power to recognize it and to reproduce it in a picture, for it is no small art to make different human shapes; the stubborn will of itself entwines itself into our work. To make a beautiful picture, you must not take from one man alone, for no man lives on earth who possesses all that is beautiful; he might always be much more beautiful. Also, there lives no man on earth who can say conclusively what the most beautiful form of human being should be like. No one knows that but God alone; and later on he adds, "To whom He has manifested it, he will know it."

But Dürer will only allow to exceptional men the power to form an æsthetic judgment, which he in itself regards as a special gift, requiring to be cultivated by reference to the observations of others. "Let no one trust himself too much, for the many see more than one, possible as it may be that for once one man sees more than a thousand; still it rarely occurs." "One often searches through two or three hundred people, and hardly finds two or three things in them which can be used. Therefore, if you want to make a good picture, you must take from several the head, from others the arms, hands," and so on.

Very early in the sixteenth century Dürer had grasped the true idea of beauty, beyond which it was impossible for him to go; so that in this respect his speculations made no advance, nor could years of reflection present to his mind anything superior. He argues then, that the growth of a nation's art is like its system of laws, which develops as circumstances create necessity for fresh legislation, or as new light dawns upon specially gifted minds. Just as the idea of the good is gradually revealed and matured, so also the conception of the beautiful is not a revelation to a single individual mind, but the result of a succession of revelations to men endued with energy of soul, communicated either to many, or, as is rarely the case, apprehended in all its

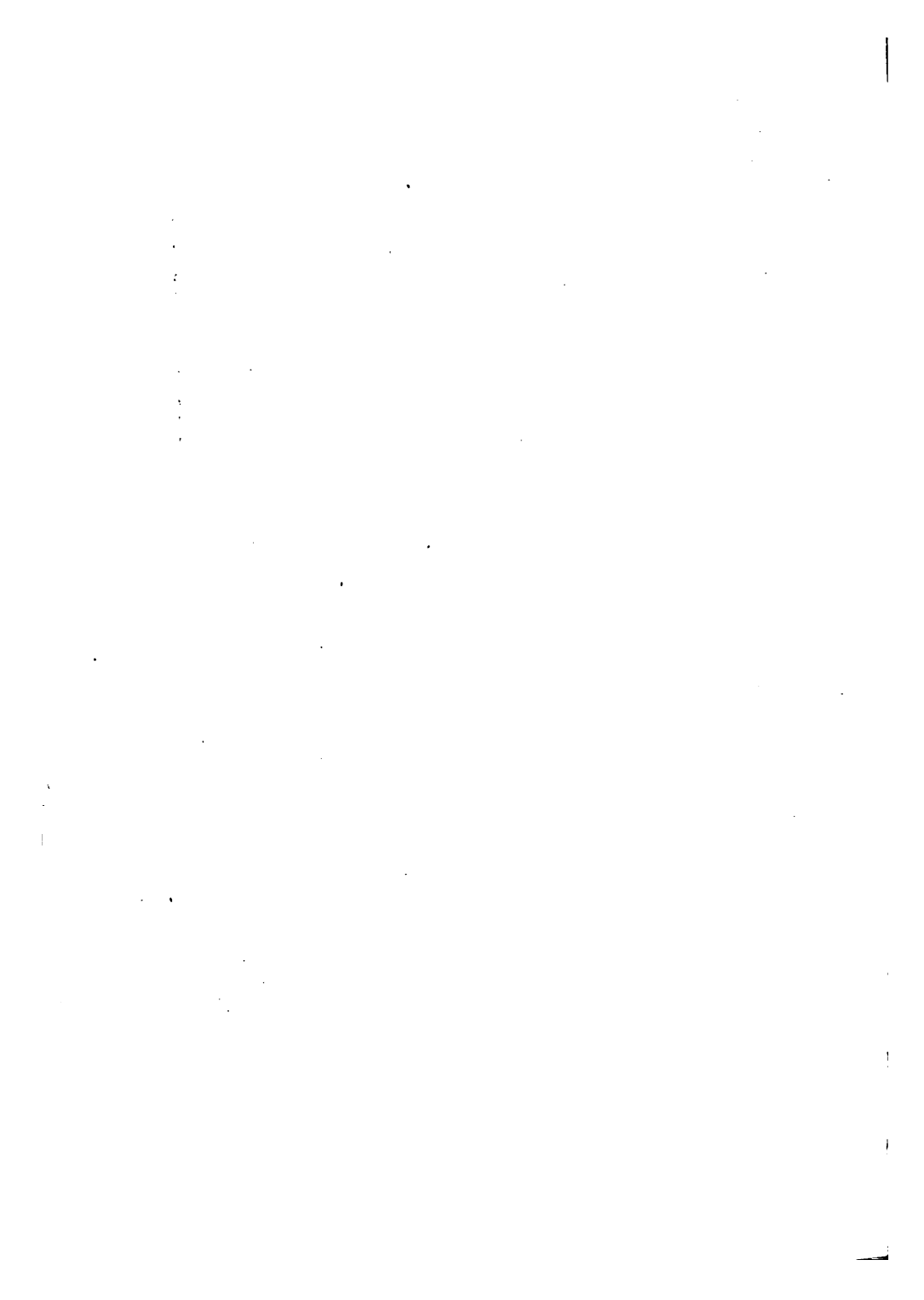
perfection by a solitary genius. Such a genius was Dürer himself. Yet with all his delight in speculation, and with his marvellous creative power, the simplicity and freedom both of his thoughts and of his works were constantly increasing during his later years. Melanchthon, in one of his letters to Camerarius, says, that he remembers how conscious Dürer himself was of this. In his youth he says he was fond of a florid style and variety of colour, and found an unfailing pleasure in this diversity; but in his mature years he recognized that simplicity was the perfection of art. It is curious to compare the perfect harmony of colour and simple greatness of his works when, abandoning theory and imitation, he puts himself into competition with nature, and gives utterance to such thoughts as these: "The life in nature makes known the truth of all these things: therefore gaze upon her intently, and do not deviate from her to follow your own opinion, as if you could imagine that you could find out better for yourself, for you would be misled. For truly art lies in nature; and he who can draw her out obtains her, and once obtained she will move many defects from your works. . . . The more exactly your work is conformable to life, so much the better will it seem. And this is true: therefore never imagine that you can do, or desire to do, something better than what God has given his created being the power to do, for his capacity is powerless against the creative power of God. So it is decreed, that no human being can, of his own imagination, even make a beautiful picture, and so he must fill his mind full of beauty by many an imitation; and then it is no more called his own, but has become art, which has been mastered and acquired, which sows itself, grows, and brings forth fruit of its kind. Thereupon the collected and secret treasure of the heart becomes manifest through the work, and the new creature which is created in the heart is the form of a thing."

No artist, save only Michelangelo, has given utterance to thoughts more beautiful than these in reference to the power



Christ driving out the Money-changers.

From the "Little Passion." Printed from a cast of the original wood-block in the British Museum.



with which he feels himself endowed—a power which he humbly and yet proudly recognizes as something akin to Divine inspiration. His marvellous knowledge of forms was to him a “secret treasure of the heart,” and the figures which he produces in such abundance are “new creatures,” conceived in his own mind, products of a seed divinely sowed, not mere copies of shapes which have been presented to his eye and perfected by his skill. Hence he goes on to say, that an expert artist does not need to make special studies for each individual picture, “for he can pour out sufficiently what he has been collecting within himself from the outside; such an one can fashion well in his own works, but very few arrive at such an intelligence.”

These words are in perfect harmony with the productions of his later years. While he sees in the work of his art life a reflection of the power of God, which exalts his calling, he discovers in it only grounds for personal humility. He was as dissatisfied with the completeness of his theories as he was with that of his productions, and had always before his mind, and in his dreams, more beautiful pictures than he was ever able to execute. “Ah! how often,” he exclaims, “do I see in my sleep great art and good things, the like of which do not come to me when awake; for when I awake my remembrance of them is gone.” Still he was not discouraged in his search after truth, though conscious that, with our limited understanding, we can never come to a full knowledge of it; “if we cannot attain the very best, are we to leave off studying? We will not accept that brutish idea, for men have the bad and the good set before them, and it is becoming to a reasonable being to prefer the better.”

As to the future of art, the effort of his life was to contribute what he could, however imperfect, towards its perfection, though conscious of many difficult problems which he was unable to solve; still he hopes “that every one will, according to his power, try to make up my deficiencies.” He looked upon

himself as in no way at the head of an art-movement, but only as a man who could not refuse to fulfil some great purpose in its development. He was content to be a precious corner-stone in the edifice of German Art, the future grandeur of which he could only foresee ; and little did he dream that the completion of the structure would be delayed, even for centuries, by the great religious and political struggles which Germany was destined to witness, and of which he only lived to see the beginning.

It is chiefly in Dürer's engravings that we are able to get an insight into the depths of his character. Perfect in detail and marvellous in execution, each one conveys a lesson often too deep for minds unaccustomed to introspection, unmoved by the questionings and doubts, the hopes and the despair, which afflict a nature dissatisfied with the conditions in which it exists, and striving ever to fathom the surrounding mysteries. Given to melancholy thoughts from his earlier years, and seldom able to divest himself of them, restless in the pursuit of knowledge, his mind was full of the fantastic shapes which appear in the creations of his pencil. Humble and faithful in his search after good, he was rewarded by revelations which he strove to communicate. The more subtle and diversified his fancies, the more careful is he in giving them expression, lest any fragment should be lost. Hence the strange variety of forms, the wonderful mixture of the sublime and the homely, the real and the imaginary, which crowd upon a single picture—legends from those shadowy lands reserved for the visits of genius, relieving the monotonous story of every-day life.



Virgin and Child.
Engraving of the year 1507.



THE PRINCIPAL WORKS OF ALBRECHT DÜRER.

I. PAINTINGS.

BERLIN. *Mus.* Virgin and Child. (*Purchased in 1880 from the Marchese Gino Capponi. "A somewhat poor work, but believed on good authority to be authentic." 'Academy,' No. 446.*)

CASSEL. *Gallery.* Portrait of Elizabeth Tucher. ELSPET NICLAS TUCHERN 26 æt. 1499.

CÖLN. *Wallraf- } Drummer and Piper. (See foot-note on p. 104.)*
Richartz Mus. }

DRESDEN. *Gal.* Christ on the Cross. 1500. PATER I MANUS TUAS
COMMENDO SPIRITŪ MEŪ.

Christ bearing the Cross, MDXXVII.

Portrait of Bernhard von Ressen. 1521. (*Painted in Antwerp.*)

Madonna and sleeping Child in the centre; on the side wings S. Sebastian and S. Anthony. (*The wings only are by Dürer.*)

FLORENCE. *Uffizi.* Portrait of Albrecht Dürer.¹ 1498.

Portrait of Albrecht Dürer the elder. 1490 (or 1498).
(*See foot-note¹ on p. 103.*)

¹ A similar painting is at Madrid: Waagen is in favour of the Uffizi one being the original; on the other hand, Mündler declares for the Madrid picture.

- FLORENCE. *Uffizi*. S. Philip. 1516.
S. James. 1516.
Madonna and Child. 1526.
Adoration of the Magi. 1504. (*Painted for Frederick the Wise.*)
- Pitti Palace*. Adam. } (See foot-note² on this page.)
Eve. }
- FRANKFORT. Job. (See foot-note on p. 104.)
- Städel*. Portrait of Albrecht Dürer the elder. 1494. ALBRECHT THURER DER ELTER UND ALT 70 JOR. (See foot-note¹ on this page.)
- Portrait of Katharine Fürleger. 1497. (*Another portrait of this girl, also by Dürer, was formerly in the possession of the late Mr. Wynn Ellis.*)
- Town Gallery*. A copy by Paul Juvenel of a triptych—'The Coronation of the Virgin,' with 'The Martyrdom of St. James' and 'The Martyrdom of St. Catharine' on the wings. ALBERTU DUREB FACIEBAT POST VIRGINIS PARTU 1509. (*The original, which was painted in 1507-09 for Jakob Heller of Frankfort, was burnt in the old palace of Munich in 1674. It is thought by some critics that the portraits of Jakob Heller and his wife on the wings are the original work of Dürer, and it is presumed that they may have been sawn off the painting before it went to Munich.*)
- ISLEWORTH. *Sion House*. Portrait of his father, Albrecht Dürer the elder. 1497. ALBRECHT THURER DER ELTER UND ALT 70 JOR.¹
- LONDON. } Bust portrait of a Senator, 1514.
National Gal. }
- MADRID. *Mus.* Adam. } On the 'Eve' is inscribed ALBERTUS DÜRER
Eve. } ALEMANUS FACIEBAT POST VIRGINIS PARTUM.
1507. Replicas are in the Pitti Palace, Florence, and copies in the Museum at Mainz.²

¹ Similar pictures are in the Uffizi, Florence; the Pinakothek, Munich; and the Städel, Frankfort. Much discussion has taken place as to which is the original of the four: Passavant is in favour of the Frankfort one, Mrs. Heaton of that of Sion House.

² Passavant thinks that the Madrid pictures are the original, but Mr. J. A. Crowe is decidedly in favour of those in the Pitti Palace.

- MADRID. *Mus.* Portrait of Albrecht Dürer. (See foot-note on p. 102.)
Portrait of a Man.
- MILAN. Christ crowned with thorns. 1514. (See Burckhardt's
Trivulzi Coll. 'Cicerone,' 1879.)
- MUNICH. The Birth of Christ (2), with S. Eustace (1) on the left
Pinakothek. wing, and S. George (3) on the right. (Painted
for the church of S. Catharine in Nürnberg. S.
George is a portrait of Stephan Baumgürtner:
S. Eustace is his brother Lucas. Kugler and Von
Eye think that this work belongs to about the same
time as 'The Knight, Death and the Devil,' i. e.
1513; but Mrs. Heaton is of opinion that it is to be
ascribed to his 'early time, before his visit to Venice.')
S. John and S. Peter (71), and S. Paul and S. Mark
(76) (sometimes called 'The Four Temperaments').
(Copies by Georg Gärtner are in the Germanic
Museum at Nürnberg.)
Lucretia. 1518.
Portrait of Oswald Krell. OSWOLT KREL. 1499.
S. Joachim and S. Joseph.¹ 1523. (Cabinet 7, No.
123.)
Portrait of Albrecht Dürer. ALBERTUS DURERUS
NORICUS IPSUM ME PROPRIISSIE EFFINGEBAM COLORI-
BUS ETATIS ANNO XXVIII. 1500.
Simeon and the Mitred Abbot Lazarus.¹ (Cabinet 7,
No. 127.)
Portrait of Albrecht Dürer, the elder. 1494. ALBRECHT
THURER DER ELTER UND ALT 70 JER. (See foot-note
on p. 103.)
Portrait of Michel Wolgemut. 1516.
Portrait of a Young Man. 1500.
Rest on the Flight into Egypt. 1524.
- NAPLES. *San'* A Woman tying a garland at a Window. 1508. (See
Angelo Coll. Burckhardt's 'Cicerone,' 1879.)

¹ These formed the interior of the wings of an altar-piece which Dürer painted, probably for a member of the Jabach family at Cöln. The exterior of the wings are the one in the Städel at Frankfort, and the other in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum at Cöln. The centre-piece is lost.

- NÜRNBERG. Portrait of Hieronymus Holzschuher. 1526.¹
Germanic Mus. Hercules.
 Portrait of the Emperor Charlemagne.
 Portrait of the Emperor Sigismund.
- Moritz Kapelle.² The Body of Christ taken down from the Cross and
 mourned by the holy women and His disciples.
*(Painted for a member of the Holzschuher family:
 a copy is in S. Sebald's Church, where the original
 once hung. Kugler attributes it to the time 1515-18.)*
- PRAGUE. Abbey of Strahow. Feast of the Rose-garlands. EXEGIT QUINQUE MESTRI
 SPATIO ALBERTUS DÜRER GERMANUS MDVI.
*(Painted for the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, Venice:
 contains portraits of Dürer, Pirkheimer, Fugger,
 Maximilian I., and Julius II. An old copy is
 in the Museum at Lyons.)*
- Gallery. Madonna with the Iris.
- ROME. Borghese. Portrait of a Man. 1505.
 Barberini. Christ among the Doctors.
- VIENNA. Belvedere. Portrait of Maximilian I. 1519. *(A replica was in the
 possession of the late Lord Northwick.)*
 The Martyrdom of the ten thousand Saints. ISTE
 FACIEBAT ANNO DOMINI. 1508. ALBERTUS DÜRER
 ALEMANUS. *(Painted for Frederick the Wise: con-
 tains portraits of Dürer and Pirkheimer. An old
 copy is in the Schleissheim Gallery.)*
 The Adoration of the Trinity. ALBERTUS DÜRER
 NORIJOUS FACIEBAT ANNO A VIRGINIS PARTU. 1511.
*(Painted for the 'House of the Twelve Brothers':
 contains portraits of Dürer and Landauer.)*
 Madonna and Child. 1503.
 Madonna and Child with the pear. 1512.
 Portrait of a Man with red hair and a black cap. 1507.
 Portrait of Johann Kleberger. 1526.
 Madonna and Child with the lemon. 1520. *(By some
 critics ascribed to Dürer, but Mr. J. A. Crowe says
 it "bears a false signature and date, and is by a
 Fleming imitating Dürer." it is registered in the
 official catalogue as 'Netherlandish School'.)*

¹ The property of the Holzschuher family. ² Now used as a picture gallery.

II. ENGRAVINGS.

- Coat of Arms, with Death's Head. 1503.
Adam and Eve. 1504.
The Nativity, of the year 1504.
The Prodigal Son.
The Penance of S. Chrysostom.
The Penance of S. Jerome.
The Family of the Satyr. 1505.
The Offer of Love.
A Man and Woman struggling.
A Prodigious Hog.
Justice (*also called* The Nemesis).
The Little Fortune.
The Great Horse. 1505.
The Little Horse. 1505.
The Passion in Copper. (*Never published in book form.*)
 (i) The Man of Sorrows. 1509.
 (ii) Christ on the Mount of Olives. 1508.
 (iii) The Betrayal. 1510. ? 1508.
 (iv) Christ before Caiaphas. 1512.
 (v) Christ before Pilate. 1512.
 (vi) Christ Scourged. 1512.
 (vii) Christ Mocked. 1512.
 (viii) Ecce Homo. 1512.
 (ix) Pilate washing his Hands. 1512.
 (x) Christ bearing the Cross. 1512.
 (xi) The Crucifixion. 1511.
 (xii) The Descent into Hell. 1512.
 (xiii) Christ taken down from the Cross. 1507.
 (xiv) The Entombment. 1512.
 (xv) The Resurrection. 1512.
 (xvi) Peter and John healing the lame man. 1513.
S. George. 1508.
Christ with Bound Hands. 1512. (*Dry point.*)
S. Jerome. 1512. (*Dry point.*)
The Holy Family, with Joseph and three other figures. (*Dry point.*)
S. Veronica. 1510. (*Etching.*)
A Man bearing off a Naked Woman on a Unicorn. (*Etching.*)

- Christ Seated, Crowned with Thorns. 1515. (*Etching.*)
 Christ on the Mount of Olives. 1515. (*Etching.*)
An Angel bearing the Sudarium. (*Etching.*)
 The Great Cannon. (*Etching.*)
 Study of some Naked Figures. (*Etching.*)
 The Little Crucifixion.
 The Small St. Jerome. (*Round.*)
 The Knight, Death and the Devil (*or* The Horse of Death, *or* The Christian Knight). 1513.
 S. Jerome in his Chamber. 1514.
 Melencolia. 1514.
 The Virgin as Queen of Heaven. 1514.
 The Virgin as Earthly Mother (*or*, The Virgin by the Wall). 1514.
 S. Paul. 1514.
 S. Thomas. 1514.
 A Dancing Boor and his Wife. 1514.
 The Bagpipe Player. 1514.
 S. Eustachius (*frequently called* S. Hubertus).
 The Great Fortune ("*probably the one called by Dürer, The Nemesis*").
 The Coat of Arms with the Cock.
 The Virgin on the Half Moon, with Crown and Sceptre. 1516.
 The Virgin Crowned by Two Angels. 1518.
 The Virgin Suckling the Child. 1519.
 S. Anthony. 1519.
 The Virgin Crowned by One Angel. 1520.
 The Virgin with the Child in Swaddling Clothes. 1520.
 S. Christopher. 1521.
 S. Bartholomew. 1523.
 S. Simon. 1523.
 S. Philip. 1526.

DOUBTFUL. (*Perhaps by Wolgemut.*)

- The Four Naked Women (*or* "The Four Witches"). 1497.
 Anymone (*or* "The Sea-Rider").
 The Dream of Love.
 The Promenade (*or* Knight and Lady).
 The Great Hercules (*or* Jealousy).
 The Vitgin with the Monkey.
 The Lady on Horseback (*or* the Little Amazon).

III. WOOD-CUTS.

The Apocalypse. (*The first and second editions appeared in 1498, the third in 1511.*)

- (i) The attempted Martyrdom of S. John.
- (ii) The Vision of the Seven Golden Candlesticks.
- (iii) The Throne of God with Twenty-four Elders and the Four Beasts.
- (iv) The Opening of the First Four Seals. (*The Four Riders.*)
- (v) The Opening of the Fifth and Sixth Seals. *Martyrs clothed in white.*
- (vi) The Four Angels holding the Four Winds, and the Sealing of the Elect on their Foreheads.
- (vii) The Elect with Palm-branches glorify the Lamb.
- (viii) The Sounding of the Trumpets.
- (ix) The Four Angels of the Great River Euphrates killing the third part of Men.
- (x) The Angel with the column Feet.
- (xi) The Woman clothed with the Sun.
- (xii) Michael and his Angels fighting the Great Dragon.
- (xiii) The Worshipping of the Dragon.
- (xiv) The Babylonian Woman.
- (xv) The Binding of Satan for a thousand years.
- (xvi) The Vision of the Virgin to S. John. (*Added as a vignette on the title-page of the third edition.*)

The Life of the Virgin. (*The first edition appeared in 1511, the later editions are without text.*)

- (i) The High Priest refusing the Offering of Joachim in the Temple.
- (ii) The Angel appearing to Joachim in the Wilderness.
- (iii) Joachim embraces Anna at the Golden Gate.
- (iv) The Birth of the Virgin.
- (v) The Purification.
- (vi) The Betrothal of the Virgin.
- (vii) The Annunciation.
- (viii) The Visitation.
- (ix) The Nativity.
- (x) The Adoration of the Kings.
- (xi) The Circumcision of Christ.
- (xii) The Purification in the Temple.
- (xiii) The Flight into Egypt.
- (xiv) The Repose in Egypt.
- (xv) Christ found by his Parents disputing with the Doctors.
- (xvi) Christ taking leave of his Mother.
- (xvii) The Death of the Virgin. 1510.
- (xviii) The Assumption of the Virgin.

(xix) The Virgin and Child adored by Saints and Angels.

(xx) The Virgin on the Crescent Moon. (*Vignette on the title-page.*)

The Great Passion. (*Published first in book form in 1511.*)

(i) The Last Supper.

(ii) Christ on the Mount of Olives.

(iii) The Betrayal of Christ.

(iv) The Scourging of Christ.

(v) Christ Mocked.

(vi) Christ bearing the Cross.

(vii) The Crucifixion.

(viii) The Descent into Hell.

(ix) The Body of Christ mourned over by the Virgin and the Holy Women.

(x) Christ laid in the Grave.

(xi) The Resurrection.

(xii) Christ Mocked. (*Vignette on the title-page.*)

The Little Passion. (*The first two editions appeared in 1511, in Nürnberg; a third in 1612, in Venice; and a fourth in 1844, in London; and a fifth—imperfect, and from casts—in 1856.*)

(i) Adam and Eve in Paradise.

(ii) The Expulsion from Paradise.

(iii) The Annunciation.

(iv) The Nativity.

(v) The Entry into Jerusalem.

(vi) Christ driving the Money-changers out of the Temple.

(vii) Christ taking leave of His Mother.

(viii) The Last Supper.

(ix) The Washing of the Feet.

(x) The Prayer on the Mount of Olives.

(xi) The Kiss of Judas.

(xii) Christ before Annas.

(xiii) Caiaphas rends his Clothes.

(xiv) Christ Mocked.

(xv) Christ before Pilate.

(xvi) Christ before Herod.

(xvii) The Scourging.

(xviii) The Crowning with Thorns.

(xix) Christ shown to the People.

(xx) Pilate washing his Hands.

(xxi) Christ bearing the Cross.

(xxii) The Veronica.

(xxiii) Nailing Christ to the Cross.

(xxiv) The Crucifixion.

(xxv) Descent into Hell.

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- (xxvi) Descent from the Cross.
- (xxvii) The Weeping of the Maries.
- (xxviii) The Entombment.
- (xxix) The Resurrection.
- (xxx) Christ in Glory appearing to his Mother.
- (xxxi) Christ appears to the Magdalen.
- (xxxii) Christ at Emmaus.
- (xxxiii) The Incredulity of St. Thomas.
- (xxxiv) The Ascension.
- (xxxv) The Descent of the Holy Ghost.
- (xxxvi) The Last Judgment.
- (xxxvii) Christ Seated, with a Crown of Thorns on His Head (*on the title*).
- Samson killing the Lion.
- The Beheading of S. John the Baptist. 1510.
- Death and the Soldier. 1510.
- The Trinity. 1511.
- S. Christopher. 1511.
- The Mass of S. Gregory. 1511.
- S. Jerome in his Chamber. 1511.
- S. Francis receiving the Stigmata.
- The Holy Family with Three Hares.
- The Holy Family with the Guitar. 1511.
- The Virgin Crowned by two Angels. 1518.
- Salome giving the Head of the Baptist to Herodias. 1511.
- The Adoration of the Kings. 1511.
- The Bath.
- The Rhinoceros. 1515.
- The Great Head of Christ.
- Coat of Arms. 1523.
- The Triumphal Arch of Maximilian. 1512-1515. (*Composed of ninety-two separate blocks, which, when put together, form one cut 2ft. 6in. high by 9ft. wide. The complete design was first published in Vienna in 1559.*)
- The Triumphal Car of Maximilian. (*Composed of eight blocks, forming one cut 1ft. 6in. long by 1ft. 6in. high. The first edition appeared in 1522, the second in 1523.*)
- Maximilian's Prayer-Book. (*Drawings.*)
- The Great Column. 1517.
- The Eight Patron Saints of Austria.
- The Apotheosis of the Emperor Maximilian.
- Portrait of Maximilian.
- S. Christopher. 1525.

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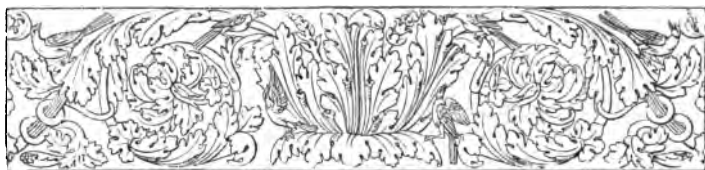
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CHRONOLOGY OF DÜRER.

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1486 Apprenticed to Wolgemut	11
1490 Started on his Wanderschaft	13
1492 Went to Colmar	13
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1494 Married Agnes Frey, July 14th	17
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1505 Went to Venice	35
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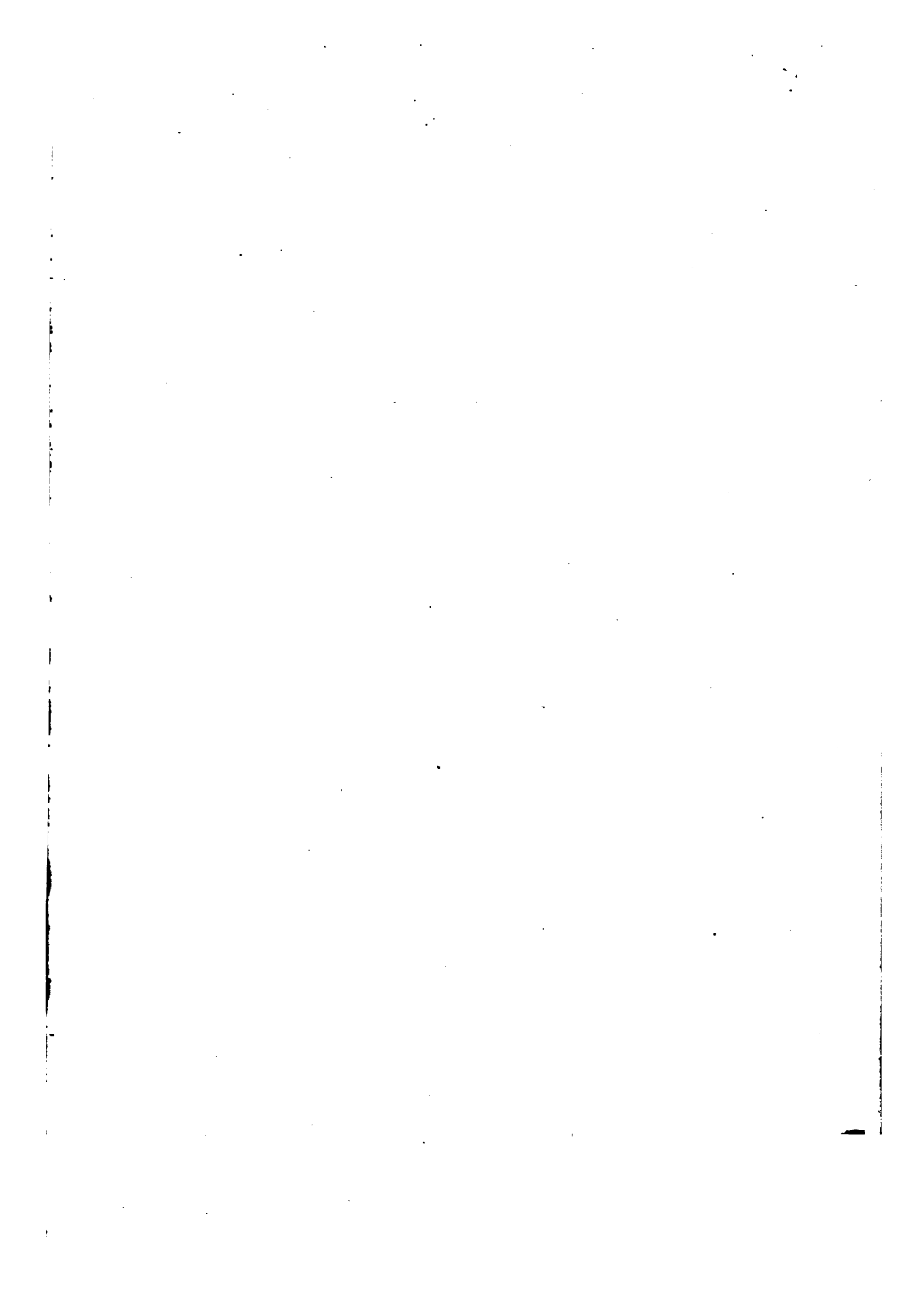
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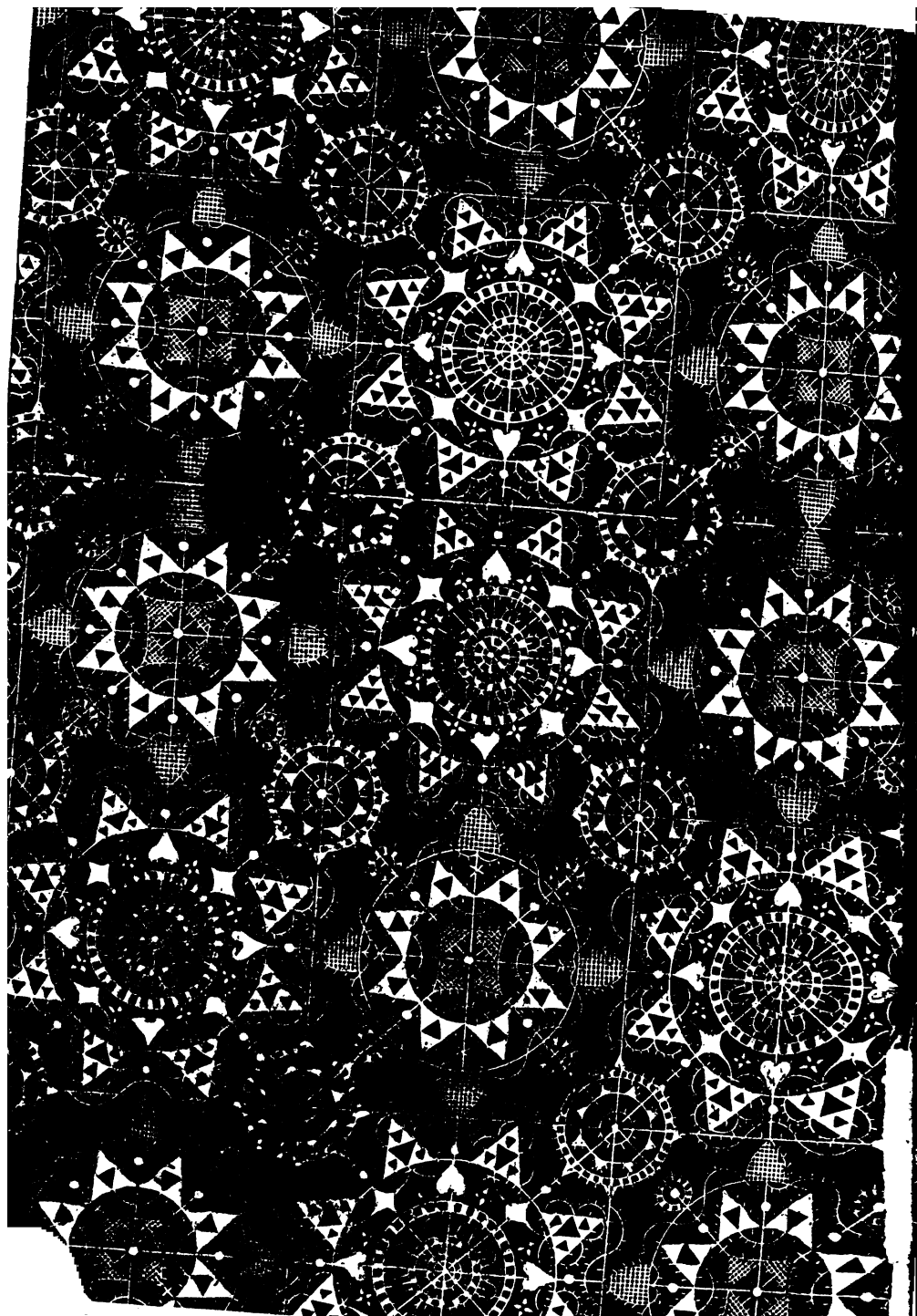
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